

REPORT of

The GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

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Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Report of the General executive #01172753



# REPORT BASEMENT

OF THE

## GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

TO THE

## FOURTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

OF THE

# **Amalgamated Clothing Workers**

of America

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, MAY 10-15, 1920

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Amalgamated Clothing Workers

### RLPORT OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

## TO THE FOURTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Delegates and Fellow Members:

We greet you upon the occasion of our international meeting to speak and legislate for the people in our industry.

This is the first Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers held when the world is at peace. All of our former Conventions were held under the fire and smoke of the great World War, when it seemed as if Occidental civilization was being shot to pieces. Despotism and militarism have devastated lands and ruined peoples. We now look back with horror at the destruction wrought by them and are attempting to cope with the problem of reconstruction.

Today the world is in agony as a result of four long years of bloodshed and loss of life. It is heroically struggling to get on its feet again. The statesmen and politicians who threw the peoples of a peaceful world into an orgy of mutual annihilation, are unable to reestablish order and sanity. This task belongs entirely to the people. The sight of the old world today is pitiful and heartrending; untold millions of hungry people, maimed and broken in body and spirit; the sight of Europe is shocking.

But the terrific human butchery has ended. We are no longer compelled to rejoice in the murder of thousands of the world's youngest and best men and the intentional starvation of its women and children. That phase of the world's tortures is closed. And for that we are grateful. It is a tremendous spiritual relief to know that human slaughter on a world scale is no more, and that we may now give our attention to the problems of peace and reconstruction, the people's peace and reconstruction; by the people and for the people. The ruling classes can no longer rule and ruin; the people alone can build and bring happiness.

In this solemn and sacred spirit we greet you. May this first Convention in peace time bring the people of our own industry, as a part of the great working humanity, nearer to our ultimate goal, industrial democracy.

We have been steadily moving in that direction during the past five years. At each succeeding Convention we reported new progress, new gains, new achievements. The interests of the people in our industry had been so cruelly neglected until five years ago, that when we finally got an opportunity we were obliged to move and act swiftly. We covered immense stretches between one Convention and the other. The Conventions at Nashville, New York, Rochester and Baltimore were mile posts. While only two, fourteen and twenty-four months, respectively, separated one from the other in point of time, in point of progress the distances were tremendous. In this sense the distance has always increased. In the two years just closed we have covered the greatest distance.

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Our report to the Baltimore Convention two years ago, we began with the following words: "Our second Convention, held May 1916, in Rochester, N. Y., charged us with the mission of establishing a forty-eight hour week for the clothing industry. We have the honor to report that your command has been carried out faithfully and successfully, in letter and in spirit." We have the pleasure of submitting to you the same report today, except that we must substitute "forty-four hours" for "forty-eight." Our Baltimore Convention instructed us to bring about a change in the working week by reducing it from forty-eight hours to forty-four. We are happy to report that your will has been done. Within one year from the Convention's action the forty-four hour week became the law of the clothing industry, and was later accepted by other industries.

The movement for the realization of the forty-four hour week began immediately after the close of the convention.

At that time the production of army uniforms was still a serious problem. It was not as we had known it a year before. As reported by us at the last Convention, we dealt with that original army uniform problem very effectively. The worst evils, tenement house labor, underpayment and discrimination against organized workers, had been abolished through our efforts in the bulk of the industry. There still remained a number of manufacturers in various cities who adhered to the old system of oppression and exploitation. In all such cases we fought for the rights of the workers. We are in a position to state conscientiously that we permitted no opportunity to slip by without doing all in our power to safeguard the interests of the workers whether organized or not.

Fortunately, the war is now over and the manufacture of military uniforms on a large scale is closed, we hope never to be reopened again. We shall, therefore, leave unreviewed the numerous cases that we dealt with in New York subsequently to the last Convention. They were fully reported in our official publications.

The army clothing industry came to a sudden stop in November, 1918, when the armistice was signed. The abruptness worked great hardship upon our members, but we rejoiced in the fact that the need for more uniforms had disappeared.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK

While the movement for the forty-four hour week was taking form, it stirred the enemies of labor in all quarters and in various industries because of the fear that our example would be followed by other groups of workers. Those enemies sought to thwart our efforts by misinterpreting our aspiration for a shorter working week as a conspiracy to obstruct the production of army clothing for the Government. Patriotism and the flag were sacriligiously invoked against us.

In a remarkable decision, Chief Justice Walter Clarke, of North Carolina, sustaining the eight-hour day in a War Labor Board case, said: "It is better that the machinery should be worn out than the bodies of the employes. Man passes through this world but once, and he is entitled, in the language of the great Declaration, to some enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

That was the first time that shorter working hours were justified by an official arbiter on humane grounds instead of on grounds of efficiency. Justice Clarke's decision, may it incidentally be mentioned, was only for the duration of the war.

In our case, however, the principle laid down by Justice Clarke did not cover all the ground. There was another principle, which grew out of the immediate situation, and was, in this particular case, overshadowing.

Justice Clarke's reason for shorter working hours is one of two that are usually advanced. The other is the consideration of "efficiency." An efficiency engineer will urge a reduction in the work day in order to increase production by reducing or eliminating fatigue. He is concerned in the human element only as a factor in production. Justice Clarke's reason is the one urged by labor organizations, who insist that, efficiency or no efficiency, the working time must be reduced in order to make the worker's life happier. Overwork and fatigue must be eliminated whether production will be affected one way or the other, and sufficient leisure must be assured the workers for recreation and education. The organized workers stand upon the principle of working in order to live rather than living in order to work.

The development of the speeding up methods in the clothing industry made a reduction of the working week to forty-four hours essential; and we emphasized that point in submitting our demand to the employers. But, as already stated, there was another, and even greater principle involved in our case.

Despite the universal cry of the shortage of labor, which was true in industrial life generally, and despite the mad rush for more and more speed in our industry, there was considerable unemployment in our ranks. That compelled us to do some thinking about the future.

The clothing industry is largely an industry of young men. Few people seem to be getting old there. The draft for the national army, therefore, claimed large numbers from our ranks. With many of our youngest, liveliest and most vigorous workers gone, and with millions of uniforms thrown into the industry, a great shortage of labor would have been natural. But there was no such shortage. At times there was a considerable surplus. The gaps created by the draft were more than filled by improved machinery and methods of production and by the acquisition of new and additional woman labor, which the war forced from the home or other occupations into the clothing factory. The question staring us in the face was: "With a surplus of labor while the best workers are away and while great stocks of clothing are being rapidly made for them, what will be the situation when the war will end and those boys will return to the industry?"

We saw the enemies of the Labor Movement in all industries gleefully rub their hands in the anticipation of the after war unemployment bringing back the old labor conditions, and worse. What were we to do? How were the returned soldiers to be taken care of?

There were two ways. Either the employers could make room for them, or we could do it. The only way the employer could do it was by removing from the factory the soldier's brother, or perhaps his father. The only way we could do it was by creating a place for the soldier through a shortening in the working time. In the first place, the employer would be a patriot and philanthropist, and, incidentally, would persuade the soldier to work for less wages, because an unemployed army would be hungrily staring at him; unity with his fellow workers would be easily destroyed. In the second case, the soldier's gratefulness would belong to the Union, his spirit of labor solidarity would be strengthened, and he could be depended upon to stand by his fellows in maintaining and improving working conditions.

For us there was but one choice.

Accordingly, we informed the boys in the service that while they were fighting on the other side to "make the world safe for democracy" we should fight on this side to make the clothing industry safe for the people. We were determined to protect the boys, who were not only our fellow workers, but also our sons and our brothers and our sweethearts; we were determined to protect them while protecting ourselves, and earn their solidarity and blessings. There was no way of doing it except by reducing the working hours.

That was the compelling force behind our demand for the forty-four

hour week.

#### Demand Submitted To Employers

On August 9, 1918, the following letter was sent to the Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers:

Gentlemen:

The modern methods of production are steadily intensifying the prevailing speeding up system, thereby undermining the health of the workers. Public welfare requires that the workers be protected from physical ruin by the establishment of a proper limitation upon the working time. It is because of that that the trend throughout the American industries is now towards an eight-hour working day.

Physical welfare is the basis of every person's happiness, but with the worker it is his only asset, the only rock on which he can sustain his existence from day to day, earn his livelihood for his family.

All fairminded persons who are familiar with the present industrial conditions have given their unqualified approval to the eight-hour day as the maximum working day.

Judge Samuel Alschuler, in his award in the packing industries, issued by him, as United States Administrator, March 30, 1918, granting the eight-hour day to the workers in those industries, delivered an interesting, powerful and convincing argument in support of the shorter work-day, and declared that "economists, sociologists, philanthropists and publicists are quite generally favorable to the eight-hour workday, as being most conducive to the welfare of the employers, employees and the community."

President Wilson, in his message to Congress, in August, 1916, stated: "It seemed to me that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderance of evidence in recent economic experience spoke of the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase in economic vigor."

The President's Mediation Commission in its report of January 9, 1918, declared unanimously that "The eight-hour day is an established policy of the country."

The best interests of the public generally, and the best interests of many thousands of clothing workers' families in particular, make the establishment of a shorter working day for the clothing industry a crying need.

It was in obedience to the compelling necessity that the Third Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, held last May in Baltimore, gave expression to the demand of its membership by adopting a resolution for the eight-hour day.

Obedient also to the same call from its membership, to whom the mad rush of the speeding up system is a real menace, the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades has decided to submit to your respected body our demand for an eight-hour day, to go into effect December first, 1918. With the universally accepted half holiday on Saturday, which is now the rule in our industry, the eight-hour day is to be for five days in the week and a four hour day on the sixth.

We ask you to give this matter your kind consideration and favor us with your

reply on or before October 1, 1918.

We are confident that we will peacefully arrive at an agreement on this matter as we have on a number of others in the past.

Awaiting your favorable reply, we beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

JOINT BOARD CHILDREN'S CLOTHING TRADES,
A. C. W. of A.
HARRY COHEN, Manager.

Endorsed by the General Executive Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President; JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary.

That brought the following reply from the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association:

August 15, 1918,

Mr. Harry Cohen, Manager, Joint Board of Children's Clothing Trade, 190 Bowery, New York City.

My Dear Sir:

I have submitted your communication of August 9th, addressed to the Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers, 752 Broadway, to our Executive Committee.

I have been requested to inform you that the Associated Boys' Clothing Manufacturers is no longer in existence, having merged with the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association, and that all communications should be addressed to the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

If you will address your request of August 9th to this Association, I will lay it before the Executive Committee.

Respectfully yours,

LEON MANN, Managing Director.

## Demand Rejected by the Employers

A letter was then sent, as advised, under the date of August 23, 1918, to which we received the following reply from the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association:

September 9, 1918

Mr. Sidney Hillman, General President, A. C. W. of A. 31 Union Square, West New York City.

Dear Sir:

We have received your letter of August 23rd, 1918, signed by Mr. Harry Cohen, and endorsed by the General Executive Board of the A. C. W. A., containing your demand for a change in the present schedule of hours observed by your Association.

This demand in substance is, that the present 48 hour week be reduced to a 44 hour week, and it is so stated in your official publication. In your letter, the demand is for an 8 hour day with a Saturday half holiday.

Our industry is now operating upon the basis of a schedule of 48 hours per week. As a matter of mutual accommodation and understanding between the employers and the workers, the work on Saturday, or in some cases Sunday, was limited to 4 hours, and the remaining 44 hours were divided up among the other days of the week, amounting to about 8% hours.

If the workers of your organization are now desirous of dividing the present 48 hour weekly schedule so as to make an 8 hour working day, for 6 days a week, then we are entirely agreeable to such change.

In the recent Packing House award of Judge Alschuler, the language of which you quote, an 8 hour work day was not granted, nor was a Saturday half holiday provided for. The award grants a basic 8 hour day for all of the working days of the week, making a basic 48 hour week. As a matter of fact, the Packing House employes at present are working 9 and 10 hours a day.

The President, whom you also quote, in his orders of March 22nd, and March 24th, 1917, suspended the operation of the Federal 8 hour law on the ground that a national emergency existed which would require a longer working day upon Government work. The demand of your organization for a 44 hour week means, when applied to the 6 working days of the week, an average of 7 1-3 working hours per day, and this demand is made during the national emergency which caused the President to suspend an 8 hour working day on Government work.

While your demand is addressed to one branch only of our Association, it is stated in your official organ to be the intention to extend the 44 hour week to the whole industry. In fact, if granted in some shops, it would be impossible to keep it from becoming operative in all. As you know, about one-third of the capacity of the industry at present is engaged upon uniform work for the Government, and with the great increase in our National Armies in prospect, our industry will have to meet shortly a vastly heavier demand upon its productive capacity. We do not believe a reduction of nearly ten per cent in working hours is a proper preliminary step to take to meet this demand.

We are advised that a large fund is now being collected by you and we can only interpret this to mean that it is the intention of your organization to resort to a strike in aid of your demand if it should not be granted.

We are willing and hereby offer to submit the question to the National War Labor Board, which was appointed by the President, whom you have quoted, for the express purpose of deciding questions of this kind in war time, in order that the country's interests in production be not damaged by stoppage of work.

We cannot believe that, upon further thought, you will press your demand for a reduction in working hours at this time, or that in any event, your organization will

be so unmindful of the national interest as to bring about a strike in an essential war industry.

Respectfully yours

LEON MANN, Managing Director.

Following the refusal by the Association to grant our demand, which carried also a refusal to meet us in conference, the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades sent on October 15, 1918, the following circular letter to the individual manufacturers:

Our organization has been forced by prevailing conditions to deal with two vital problems, to wit, the growing intensification of speeding up and the abnormally high cost of living.

The system of driving the workers in a mad rush to speed up production to an even higher degree, regardless of the health wrecking strain, compelled the workers to appeal to their organization for relief. The matter was carefully considered and only one solution found—a reduction in the working time in order to afford the workers more opportunity for rest and recreation.

Likewise has the high cost of living problem received full consideration. The remedy in this case is quite obvious—the present earnings not being sufficient to insure the workers a decent livelihood under the very high cost of commodities, an increase in wages is the only relief possible.

Accordingly, it was decided to make the following demands upon the industry:

1. An eight hour working day five days in the week and a half a day, four hours, on the sixth.

2. A wage increase of twenty per cent.

By the direction of the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades I beg to submit those demands to you and ask for your immediate attention.

You will agree with us that we have always striven to adjust industrial disputes peacefully and without recourse to strikes.

We succeeded in avoiding strikes in the past whenever the employers were willing to reach a satisfactory understanding with us without a strike.

We hope you will do so in this case.

We ask you to favor us with your reply on or before November 1, 1918.

In the hope that you will see this matter in the proper light, we are confident that a satisfactory settlement will be arrived at and a conflict avoided.

HARRY COHEN. Manager.

The above letter to individual firms brought the following reply from the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association:

Mr. Harry Cohen, Manager, Joint Board, Children's Clothing Trade, 190 Bowery, New York City. October 18, 1918.

#### Dear Sir:\_

Many copies of your circular letter of October 15th to individual members of our association have been referred to the office of the association for reply. This would have been unnecessary had your communication been directed to this association in the first instance, since you well know that our association can speak with as much authority for the manufacturers in the industry as can your organization speak for the workers.

As to the demand for a 44-hour week, under no circumstances will this be granted or discussed. You have already been advised of the attitude of the association and its members upon this point. While the demand at present is limited to the Children's Clothing Trade, it is well-known and freely admitted that the purpose is to extend the 44-hour week, if secured in this branch of the trade, to the whole industry including the making of uniforms. Even were this purpose not expressed or entertained, you are well aware that as a practical matter it would be impossible to conduct a portion of the trade upon a 44-hour week and to maintain the remainder upon the present 48-hour week. The demand at any time is uneconomic and contrary to the best interests of the industry. At this time it is unpatriotic as well, since it is against the interests of the Government, because uninterrupted work is absolutely essential to the public interest. We again offer to submit this question to the National War Labor Board for adjustment.

As to the demand for a wage increase, if upon investigation your grievances are seen to be well founded, our association is entirely willing to take up the wage matter and discuss it, if the demand for a 44-hour week be dropped or submitted to the War Labor Board. If we cannot agree upon the matter of wages, we offer as to this issue also to submit the question to the War Labor Board.

As one of the reasons for the demand for a 44-hour week you mention "the system of driving the workers in a mad rush to speed up production to an even higher degree. regardless of the health-wrecking strain." This statement raises another question upon which we seriously disagree, and the disagreement seems to be fundamental as to be incapable of settlement or of common understanding.

The manufacturers insist and charge that rather than there being any speeding up, the real fact is that there exists a general and wide-spread restriction of output in the industry made possible by the control of your organization over the employment and discharge of workers, which has reached such proportions as to constitute a serious and increasing menace to the industry itself and which has greatly impaired its productive capacity in a time of national need.

The manufacturers are really concerned with the labor cost of the garments and, of course, it is apparent that the question of restriction of output has a material relation to wages.

We propose, therefore, to submit also to the War Labor Board the further question of whether there is improper speeding up in the trade on the part of the manufacturer which should be corrected, or whether there exists improper and uneconomic restriction of output on the part of the members of your organization, which should be condemned and abandoned in the interests of the industry and of the country as well.

Respectfully yours,

LEON MANN, Managing Director.

In the past the Association conferred with us whenever we submitted demands. This time it refused to confer. Instead it proposed reference to the War Labor Board, one of whose members was a notorious enemy of our organization. We were not particularly anxious to have him sit in judgment on us. The die was cast. The announcement of the association that it had engaged Walter Drew, who had made his career by fighting labor in the structural iron industry, to lead its fight against us left no doubt of the employers' intentions.

Our position was then formulated in the following manner in the October 25, 1918, issue of our official journal, Advance:

The Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades of New York has made the first move in the direction of industrial and social reconstruction. It has made a demand upon the employers for an eight hour day five days in the week and four hours on the sixth—forty-four hours a week.

While the immediate result of the shorter working week will be to afford the workers some relief from the health wrecking speeding up system, its ultimate purpose goes far beyond that.

A large number of clothing workers are now in the American Army. The places left vacant by them have been filled by the same process of readjustment that filled all gaps in the industries left by the millions of men who were called to the colors. We all hope for a maximum of home returning soldiers. We hope also that they will return in perfect condition, physically and spiritually. They will look for their old places, only to find them occupied by others and no room for themselves.

It requires no high flights of imagination to see the employer most "patriotically" offer to give the returned soldier the "preference," provided he is willing to work for less wages than the other worker, and not to belong to the Union. With the returned soldier standing between the employer and the organized workers, who will most likely have at that time more workers than jobs, the temptation to the soldier will be strong to stand by the man who owns the job, even if it means starvation for a fellow human being.

The employers understand that clearly. They are eagerly looking forward to the time when those who are now fighting for democracy will be made to fight for autocracy in industry by creating a huge oversupply in the labor market. The organized workers see that just as clearly. They realize that a reduction in the working time will mean not only more humane working conditions for those who are already in the industry, but it will, above all, make room for many of our own flesh and blood, who will otherwise either have to kill—throw somebody out of a job—or be killed—starve because of unemployment. The industry, as it has readjusted itself to war conditions, cannot otherwise absorb those who will return to it after the war.

This is a patriotic task of the highest order. The Union has undertaken it with enthusiasm and determination. The employers blasphemously opposed this in the name of patriotism.

The union submitted the demand to the employers' association and the latter rejected it. It then submitted it to the individual employers, and the association, again speaking in the name of patriotism, again rejected it.

The Children's Clothing organization is now raising a large fund—each member contributing a day's wages—in order to conduct the struggle if the employers wish it. The Children's Clothing Workers are trained fighters. They are confident of victory. But whatever the outcome of the struggle, the organization will be able to make this appeal to the returning soldiers:

We, the organized workers, have fought for you in our industry while you were fighting on the military battlefield. We fought in order to make the industry safe for you while you were fighting to make the world safe for democracy. We fought to make room for you, with decent working conditions, without sacrificing your fathers, your brothers and your sisters. We fought in order to make your return home a real joy and blessing to yourselves and your dear ones instead of a tragedy, which it would have been if your return would have meant loss of jobs to them and reduced conditions for all. We fought in order to enable you to live as American citizens after you had fought as American soidiers. We fought FOR all that; the employers fought AGAINST all that. Now that you are here, by whom will you stand; by the employer who fights for his increased profits and riches, or by the organized workers who fight for you and your welfare and happiness?

Both the employers and the workers understand this perfectly and they know what the response to this appeal will be. Hence the conflict.

The organized workers will continue fighting for more industrial freedom; the em-

ployers will continue fighting for more industrial serfdom.

All members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America send greetings to the militant Children's Clothing Workers and stand ready to give them full support.

#### The Fight Begins

The employers persistently refusing to meet us, a conflict became unavoidable.

On October 28, 1918, the children's clothing industry came to a complete standstill. The great struggle for the 44-hour week had begun.

It was a bold move on our part. Our friends doubted its wisdom. Our enemies rejoiced in the confident hope that at last "the Amalgamated would break its neck." We may frankly admit that our action was not due to any superior wisdom on our part. We lay no more claim to that divine gift than our due share. The only thing in all the world that was at all certain at that time was uncertainty. Any skepticism as to our action on the part of critics may have been fully justified. But there was one thing so clear to us that we could see it with our eyes shut, and the consciousness of it filled our whole being. That was our sacred duty to the soldiers returning back to citizenship; our duty to those of them who belonged to our industry. That duty we refused to shirk, come what may.

October 19, 1918, Representative Henry Z. Osborne, of California, said in the House of Representatives: "I do not believe in the Government attempting to provide employment for every man who comes out of the army. By so doing we would destroy initiative—one of the best and noblest characteristics of our citizenship—a quality that has especially distinguished our army on the battlefields. It would transform a body of brave and self-reliant soldiers into a mass of weak dependants upon the State. Heaven forbid such a transformation."

If that position were true there would be no justification for the existence of labor Unions and they would have to be disbanded.

The true meaning of what Congressman Osborne said to the worker-soldier is this:

"When we are through using you as we want you used we don't care what may happen to what is left of you."

With such a message from the federal legislature to the workers in military uniform, whom were those workers to look to for assistance and protection? The Union was the only hope left to them.

As a matter of fact, the entire governmental machinery for dealing with industrial problems was dismantled right after the war.

We felt that if each labor organization would undertake to protect the returning workers in its own industry the entire problem of the discharged soldiers would be solved in a democratic and dignified manner, in a manner to which the conscripted soldiers were fully entitled. We were determined to do it for the workers in our industry. It was clear that with the attitude of the employers, categorically refusing to confer with us, our program meant a bitter fight, a fight to the finish. Running away from the fight meant immediate safety but danger for perhaps the very near future; going through with the fight meant immediate danger but ultimate victory, even in case of defeat. The morale created by the spirit and purpose of the fight would inevitably revive and come back with increased force. We all agreed that, if lose we must, let it be fighting. But our vision was firmly fixed upon victory.

We knew that the strike of the Children's Clothing Workers was only the beginning. With our form of organization, the men's clothing industry could not long remain at work while the other branch was out, and we all had the same interest in the object of the strike. But we had still clung to the hope that a general conflict would be avoided, and we delayed further action.

Immediately after the beginning of the strike, Prof. William Z. Ripley, the Government's Administrator of Labor Standards on Army Clothing, offered his good offices to both parties. We accepted the offer by sending to Professor Ripley the following letter:

November 4, 1918.

Prof. Wm. Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards on Army Clothing, 109 East 16th Street, City.

#### Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 30th ult., suggesting arbitration in the matter of our demands upon the clothing manufacturers for an eight hour day, five days a week with a half holiday on the sixth, which latter has been a long established rule in the clothing industry, and a twenty percent wage increase.

In reply permit me to assure you of our highest appreciation of your interest in our problems and your efforts to help us solve them.

When our demands were made upon the employers we had expected them to confer with us on those demands as they were in the custom of doing in the past, when many a strike was averted by conferences. But this time the employers refused to confer with us and have thereby forced us into the strike that is now on. We are still ready to confer if the employers are willing. Judging by our experiences of the past we are inclined to believe that an agreement might be reached as a result of a conference. We beieve, at any rate, that a conference should be had before arbitration is resorted to.

Accordingly, we suggest that you invite both parties to a conference, with the understanding that if such a conference should fail to bring the opposing parties to an agreement arbitration should follow.

The demands as above stated have been made by all branches of the industry, children's clothing workers, men's clothing workers and uniform workers, and the industry will, therefore, be embraced in the conference or arbitration proceedings.

Again thanking you for your earnest desire to cooperate in the working out of the problems of our industry, I beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

SIDNEY HILLMAN,
General President, Amalgamated Workers of America.

The Association rejected Prof. Ripley's offer on November 6, 1918.

#### Lock Out Instituted and General Strike Declared

As the New York Joint Board was patiently awaiting developments in the hope of averting a general strike before taking action the Association apparently construed it as hesitating; so in order to hasten the extension of the struggle the Association instituted a lockout against all cutters employed by its members, Saturday, November 9, 1918. That was a challenge hurled straight at the New York Joint Board, and it was promptly accepted. At the regular meeting held on that day, the New York Joint Board declared a general strike for the forty-four hour week to go into effect immediately.

Beginning with Monday, November 11, 1918, to this day, not a wheel has moved in the clothing industry in New York except under the forty-four hour rule.

The two dates, November 9 and 11, are of unusual importance; they speak volumes.

November 11 was the date on which the armistice with Germany was signed and the bloody war ended. Four days prior to that, November 7, a premature peace report was published. The suffering world was so eager for peace, all official war enthusiasm to the contrary notwithstanding, that all people, regardless of age, sex, color, nationality and other distinctions, dropped their occupations and gave themselves up to celebration and merrymaking. The news proved untrue. But the people felt that, while the report may have been somewhat premature, peace was in the air. The war had burned itself out and the true peace report was bound to come very soon. There was a delay but no denial. When the true report finally came on the eleventh of November no one doubted it because of the previous disappointment. The people were anxious to believe the report. The delirious joy of November 7th was repeated on the 11th, and again with the same spontaneity and sincerity. Everything in the city of New York stopped as it did in the whole country and the whole world, to yield to the picturesque manifestations of peace joy. In fact, each one of the few days between the 7th and the 11th was the people's holiday.

The lockout was carried out on the 9th of November; that is, practically on the day that the war ended; on the day, which, according to the experts and prophets, was to mark the beginning of labor's downward march.

The action of the employers enhanced the solemnity and the spirit of the struggle. If there were doubts to be removed anywhere in our ranks the employers' choice of the date for the attack upon our organization did it in admirable fashion.

The strike was on along the whole line. As usual, a number of individual settlements were made in the early stages of the strike.

In our report two years ago, we gave high praise to the conduct of the strike for the forty-eight hour week. That praise was well earned, but the conduct of the forty-four hour strike deserves manifold praise. The strike was led by the two Joint Boards in cooperation with the General Officers. As is well known, the New York Joint Board is the most effective and efficient of the two organizations. At the time of this writing, merging the two Joint Boards into one is still a cherished hope. But it is probably nearer realization today than it ever was. The presence of the General Officers remedied to a very large extent, for the purpose of this strike, the defect of two separate Joint Boards doing the work that should have been done by one united body. The New York Joint Board did its work admirably through its staff of officers and Board of Directors with its several committees. Perfect control was exercised by the organization over all strike activities.

#### The Returned Soldiers and Sailors Join the Struggle

In the course of the strike a number of our members in the United States fighting forces were discharged from the Army and Navy as a result of the ending of the war. When they came home they were confronted by the call of the employers to come into the factories and earn "good wages" and the call of the Union to join the strike and share the hardships of their fellow workers. The soldiers and sailors came straight to the General Office to report for strike duty. They participated in the various strike activities, addressed mass meetings, and contributed greatly to the general enthusiasm. From those soldiers and sailors the strikers learned how highly our struggle in their behalf was appreciated by them. Every returned clothing worker from the service was a new addition to the ranks of the strikers. He received a hearty welcome and he gave his hearty cooperation.

The employers sent the following telegram to the Federal Government, complaining of the participation of the discharged soldiers in the strike.

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

At a meeting held at Cooper Union, December ninth, soldiers in uniform addressed the strikers in the clothing industry. The New York Call of December tenth confirms this in a news item stating uniformed men join strike of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; that scores of soldiers and sailors who have returned from military service in France and the training camps participated in the demonstration of the striking clothing workers and that they will act as pickets in the present strike in this market; also that soldiers and sailors will participate in a meeting at the International Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Thirty-one Union Square, New York, where arrangement will be made for the men in uniform to take part in the strike as pickets and to address the strikers in their meeting halls. Please advise us if men in uniform of the army and navy are permitted to participate in industrial strikes in this manner, and also who are the officials having jurisdiction in this district.

We never learned what the Government's reply to that complaint was. But a number of our members in uniform were molested without any cause. No formal charge was recorded against those members and they were never tried, but they were kept prisoners in the guard house for a few days and then allowed to go with a "friendly" warning to do no

more picketing. The persecution of our uniformed members only tended to spur them on to greater activities, which was also true of the other members.

When a soldier or sailor reported to the organization, he was promptly attached to the shop from which he had been drafted. If the firm had settled he was immediately placed at work. If his shop was still on strike he was registered as one of the strikers of that shop, placed in the same status as the other workers, and returned to work with them after the settlement.

The strike was so complete that there was no such great need for picketing as in previous strikes. With absolute control and order prevailing and virtual absence of strike breakers, the strike looked more like a holiday than an industrial conflict.

#### First Attempt to Bring About a Settlement

The following exchange of correspondence constitutes the first attempt to bring about a settlement of the strike:

New York, December 10, 1918

Mr. Sidney Hillman,

c.o Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, City.

Dear Sir:-

I learn with regret that the strike in the Clothing Trade is still continuing.

The industry is so largely made up of Jewish Employers and Employees that I have a natural concern in seeing a peaceful relationship re-established.

We have ahead of us a difficult period in the industrial world, one which is manifestly to the interest of the employer and employee alike to approach in a spirit of accommodation. While I am not informed as to the merits of the present controversy, I feel very strongly that a way out ought to be found by which all differences should be the subject of arbitration and a relationship based on the justice established. I would request, therefore, that you communicate the contents of this letter to your associates and advise me if I may not be of service at this time in helping to bring about an adjustment of the strike. I am writing to both sides along similar lines.

Faithfully,

JACOB H. SCHIFF

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., William & Pine Streets, New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

I have your favor of the 10th inst., addressed to Mr. Sidney Hillman, which reached this office during Mr. Hillman's absence from the city, and in which you offer your kind assistance in adjusting the present differences in the clothing industry.

I took the matter up with my associates on the General Executive Board of this organization. They all join me in expressing to you our high appreciation of your interest in the present situation in the clothing industry and your generous offer to assist in reaching a solution.

Our demands to the employers are as follows:

- 1. An eight hour working day—five days a week and four hours on the sixth—a 44 hour week. The old working week consisted of 48 hours.
  - 2. Twenty percent increase in wages.

The reason for the second demand is so obvious that it requires no explanation. The first demand, the reduction of the working week by four hours, was made in order to enable the industry to absorb, as much as possible, the returning soldiers and sailors.

Without such provision, many of the American soldiers and sailors who are to return to the clothing industry will not find employment except by displacing others, their fathers and their elder brothers. That would not only mean unemployment for large numbers but reduced working conditions for those who would be employed. It it, therefore, clear that the reduction of the working week is of most vital importance to the workers in the industry. It is likewise clear that it grew out of the most patriotic motives.

The refusal of the employers to confer with us on the above demands led to a strike in a small section of the industry, about seven weeks ago, which was soon followed by a lockout of the workers in the bulk of the industry.

Settlements have since been made by us with a large number of employers, and they all provide for a forty-four hour week.

We stand ready to confer with individual firms, or with representatives of the employers' association, if they so desire, in order to reach an agreement on the above demands. That has always been our policy in cases of differences between us and the employers and to that policy we also adhere today.

We see no obstacle in the way of a conference the moment the employers signify their willingness.

Thanking you for your efforts to bring the contending parties together, and hoping that you will meet with success, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary, Amalgamated Workers of America.

A conference with representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, called by Mr. Schiff, was held at his office, Pine and William Streets December 18, 1918. Our organization was represented by Brothers Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, David Wolf and Harry Cohen.

After the conference, the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association sent the following letter to Mr. Schiff, which was transmitted by him to us:

December 19, 1918

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., C. o. Kuhn, Loeb & Company, William & Pine Streets, New York City,

Dear Mr. Schiff: \_\_\_

As requested by you at the conference yesterday, I desire to state that this Association on behalf of its members is willing to confer with representatives of the Union who are empowered to act. An impartial chairman is to preside at these meetings, and any and all matters on which a settlement cannot be mutually reached, shall immediately be submitted to a public arbitration for final determination.

It is agreed that Dr. William Z. Ripley is to act as one of the arbitrators, both sides binding themselves in advance to accept and abide by the findings of the arbitration.

tors on all questions placed before them.

The points in controversy between the Association and the Union that are to be taken up at these meetings, in addition to the demands of the Union for a 44-hour week and a 20 per cent wage increase, are those of the Association, having to do with the betterment of the present intolerable conditions forced on the industry. Specifically we demand the elimination of conditions and practices which prevent efficiency in manufacturing processes, which restrict and reduce production, and tend to destroy discipline in the shop.

Our general purpose is to bring about a system of collective bargaining based on mutual respect and mutual responsibility which shall be fair to both sides, with

the establishment of machinery to carry out and enforce its terms.

Among the various subjects that must be provided for in the plan are such terms as:

The cessation of shop strikes called because of the discharge of employees who do unsatisfactory work or for improper conduct during working hours.

The cessation of shop strikes called because of hiring Union men before a Union official is consulted.

The cessation of visits of business agents to the cutting departments and contractor shops during working hours, as such visits interfere with production and discipline.

Establishment of standards of wages and of output.

Working out an apprentice system.

Determination of overtime rates.

Recognition of temporary working force.

Regulations for changes of system in tailor shops.

Introduction of new machinery.

Division of work.

Heights of lays in cutting departments.

Rules and Regulations for the conduct of work, in cutting rooms and contractors' shops.

The above are salient features of the collective agreement which we are desirous of entering into, but there are many other items which will have to be agreed upon in order to make it complete.

As the officials of the Union stated at yesterday's conference that they had no authority to agree to submit any matters to arbitration without first obtaining the sanction of their organization, we agree to wait until Monday, December 23rd, in order to give them an opportunity to advise us whether or not the Union is willing to arrive at an adjustment of these matters on the basis which has been outlined and which you have suggested to us.

Respectfully yours,

MAX FRIEDMAN, President.

December 23, 1918.

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., William & Pine Streets, New York City,

Dear Sir:-

We received yours of the 20th inst., with a copy of the letter from the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association, dated December 19, which you were good enough to transmit to us.

In that letter we are asked to submit to arbitration all rules and regulations which have been established in the industry in order to protect the workers against the op-

pressive sweatshop conditions for which the clothing industry in this city had been notorious in past years, when the workers were not organized.

To resuscitate the autocratic and irresponsible regime of the sweat shop period, which enabled the employer to engage workers without regard to conditions, and discharge workers without regard to their rights, would destroy everything that has made it possible to raise the clothing industry from the swamps of sweatshopism to some degree of civilization; everything that tends to make for an American standard of living for the workers in the industry.

The employers also ask for a change of conditions in the contractors' shops.

That is entirely beyond our comprehension.

The contractor is the middleman in the industry. He employs our members to make the manufacturers' work in the contractors' own premises.

The Manufacturers' Association does not include the contractors in its membership. The contractors have their own organization, with which we have always taken up for negotiation and adjustment matters of mutual concern. We have received no complaints from them. As far as we know the Manufacturers' Association has no authority to speak for the contractors.

As to the cessation of shop strikes, we wish to state that, arbitration or no arbitration, that can be brought about only by the establishment of proper machinery for the adjudication of disputes as they arise. In the absence of such machinery the shop strike is the only course left open to the workers in the case of an unadjusted grievance.

The Manufacturers' Association informs you that "many other items" would be added to its already long list of subjects for arbitration. Inasmuch as we are not permitted to know what those items are we would practically be required to sign a blank check for arbitration. That would open a gate for anything at all, including the very life of our organization.

It is clear from the above that the proposition as submitted by the employers cannot possibly lead to an agreement through arbitration.

Our boards in charge of the lockout-strike also hold that the matter of the 44-hour week may be taken up in conference but cannot be subject to arbitration, for the reason that a large number of employers have already granted this shorter working week. It is unthinkable for our members to work different hours in the same market.

It is our conviction that there ought to be a conference between our representatives and those of the Manufacturers' Association to deal with the issues of the present situation. Let that conference determine what matters, if any, should go to arbitration.

We raise no objection to the demand of the Association that the arbitration proceedings be public, provided we are assured that the Associaton would not take advantage of those proceedings to inaugurate a new campaign of abuse and slander against our organization. This proviso has been made necessary by our past experiences.

We enclose copy of a newspaper item which will show that Prof. Ripley was obliged to rebuke the Association for such conduct.

Thanking you, dear Mr. Schiff, for your efforts, and hoping that the employers will see the justice of our attitude, we beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

P. S.—In compliance with your verbal request a copy of this communication is sent to Mr. Friedman, President American Men's and Boys' Manufacturers' Association.

December 26, 1918.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America 31 Union Square, New York City.

Dear Sir:-

Acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 23rd inst. I have read this with interest and can but express my regret that my good offices appear not to have brought about an approachment between your own organization and the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

Since you have sent to the latter direct a copy of your letter to me of December 23rd, nothing further remains for me to do, except to express the hope that your Union and the Manufacturers' Association may find ways and means to re-establish, before long, conditions which shall be mutually satisfactory and secure a lasting understanding.

Faithfully yours,

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

December 30, 1918

Joseph Schlossberg, Esq., Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, New York City.

My Dear Sir:\_

The American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association, Inc., have sent me a communication, under date of December 27th, of which I am enclosing herewith a copy, and I am,

Yours very truly,

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

December 27th, 1918

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., C. o. Kuhn Leob Co., New York City.

Dear Mr. Schiff:-

I am in receipt of your letter of December 26th to the effect that owing to the refusal of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to agree to a submission of the matters at issue to arbitration you consider that nothing further remains to be done by yourself in the way of bringing the parties together. I had previously received a copy of the letter of the Union directed to you, replying to my letter to you of December 19th and stating the Union's refusal to accept the proposal to arbitrate contained therein.

In its letter to you, the Union sets forth several grounds and reasons for its decision. I do not desire to permit those to go unanswered.

'In going over the ground for the refusal to arbitrate, it seems clear that unless there is a deliberate intention to misconstrue the position of the manufacturers—which I do not like to believe—the present attitude of the Union must be based upon a misunderstanding of my letter and of the position of our Association. We do not wish the efforts to bring the present deplorable condition to an end to fail because of any lack of full understanding on both sides.

Our Association has no desire to exercise an autocratic control in the industry. It does not believe that the best good of the industry can be secured if either side possesses or exercises any such control. Accordingly its chief purpose has been and is to

bring about a condition where the parties will deal with each other on a basis of mutual respect and mutual responsibility and where the rights of each side will be fully protected and safeguarded by proper machinery established for the purpose. In order to bring this about, the manufacturers recognize the fact that the Union must be preserved and maintained upon a strong and efficient basis, so that it can control its own people and carry out its side of any plan entered into. Instead of harboring any purpose to weaken or destroy the Union, our Association is willing to assist in any proper measures to maintain and strengthen it.

The manufacturers have no more desire than has the Union to have "sweat-shop" conditions prevail in the industry, or to do away with any reasonable rule or regulation for the protection of the worker. They are equally interested with the worker in maintaining proper conditions of work and in eliminating the vicious and disastrous competition which develops when the observance of proper standards is not secured by some central control. They are willing to join with the Union in maintaining such control as to make such competition and a subsequent lowering of work standards impossible. I can hardly believe that the fear expressed that a submission to arbitration would result in restoring "Sweat-shop" conditions is sincere, for I cannot conceive that any arbitration tribunal would make any rulings that would have such an effect.

We join in the belief expressed in the letter of the Union that machinery should be established for the prompt adjudication of disputes. This would be a proper part of the general collective bargaining system which our Associated believes is necessary and desirable.

As to the contractors, it is well known that the bulk of the work in the industry is performed by workers in their employ, in many cases upon the premises of the manufacturers. The cost of this work is part of the cost of production borne by the manufacturers and the conditions under which it is done have an important and often determining effect upon the general conditions in the industry. The demands presented by the Union undoubtedly include conditions which are to apply to the workers in the contracting shops.

It is obvious, therefore, that no general adjustment or settlement having in view the placing of the industry in the New York District upon a proper and stable foundation can be made without including the work done by the contractors.

Having in mind the future good of the industry, our Association desires that only those questions be arbitrated which are germane to this general purpose. The Union now suggests a conference for the purpose of determining "what issues if any should be submitted for arbitration." We consider that the machinery heretofore referred to cannot function unless matters considered vital by either sides are properly the subject of arbitration and that has been our attitude from the outset.

An examination of the correspondence and record, would, I am sure, convince you that our Association from the beginning has been striving to "find ways and means to re-establish conditions which shall be mutually satisfactory and to secure a lasting understanding.

Yours very truly,

MAX FRIEDMAN.

January 10, 1919.

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., William and Pine Streets, New York City.

Dear Mr. Schiff:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of December 30, 1918. The delay, which I am sure you will forgive, was due to frequent absences from the office on business of the organization.

I read carefully the letter from the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association, which is a restatement of their attitude to which we had already replied.

Thanking you, I am

#### Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

January 13, 1919

Joseph Schlossberg, Esq., Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, New York City.

My Dear Sir:-

Acknowledging receipt of your communication of the 10th inst., I have read this with interest and shall transmit a copy of this to Mr. Max Friedman, President of the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

I am very much afraid that this correspondence between your Union and the Manufacturers' Association, of which I am the medium, will lead to nothing, except increasing to some extent friction which already exists, and this, you will agree with me, is not a desirable thing to do.

May I not suggest to you—as I shall likewise suggest to Mr. Friedman—that, if it be found that you and the Manufacturers cannot promptly come together, representatives of your Union and of the Manufacturers' Association meet again with me, in another personal effort to reach some preliminary understanding of a basis upon which to bring about a conciliation and definite settlement between the workers and manufacturers.

Should your interests be willing to have another meeting, it would this time be necessary that your representatives come to the meeting empowered to decide the basis upon which a settlement be attempted, and not appear without power in this respect, as was the case when we met last time. Because of this, I suggest that each side be represented by six conferees.

If my proposition is satisfactory to you, I shall seek to arrange a conference at my residence next Saturday afternoon, at four o'clock, and I would then like to invite also Mr. Louis Marshall, because of his experience and his strong sense of justice, evinced in similar disputes.

Very truly yours

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

January 15, 1919.

Jacob H. Schiff, Esq., William and Pine Streets, New York City.

My Dear Sir:-

Upon my return from a trip to Pittsburgh I found your letter of the 13th inst., in which you generously offer your services to bring about another conference with the Employers' Association in order to attempt a settlement of the present controversy in the industry.

Permit me to assure you that it is highly gratifying to my associates and myself to know that you are ready to make further efforts to help us solve the present difficulty, also to enlist for this purpose the assistance of Mr. Louis Marshall.

I am sure, however, that you will be glad to learn that arrangements have already been effected for an early conference between my organization and the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association. There are all indications that the coming conference will result in a complete settlement of the dispute.

It is, indeed, encouraging to know that you and Mr. Marshall are willing to lend your time and talents to co-operate with the people in the industry in working out problems. We take it that we may be free to call on you if the occasion should arise.

With high appreciation and sincere thanks, I beg to remain,

#### Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

One of the interesting features of this contest was the fact that the workers were not the only ones calling massmeetings, appealing to the solidarity of their fellows throughout the country. The employers profited from our experiences and emulated our methods. They, too, called massmeetings and appealed to the common economic interests of their fellow employers. Leaders from other clothing markets addressed the massmeetings in New York and assured the manufacturers in this city of the support of the other markets in the country.

We record this not in a spirit of criticism. It is no less proper for employers to call massmeetings and enlist all the support they can for their position as it is for the workers. But that had never been done in this industry before. It is a tribute to the strength and fighting capacity of the labor organization if the employers align themselves in such manner in a contest with it.

All the forces of the employers and all the forces of labor in the industry were facing each other, fully organized and equipped for battle. Who would win?

It is for that reason that we record it here. Also for another: The same employers who were then solidly lined up for war, because a war was on, are now having their industrial relations with us regulated under collective bargaining agreements and rules laid down jointly by both parties.

### Chicago Paves the Way

As the strike continued, victory became ever more certain. Beside the fact that there were not enough strikebreakers to affect the situation, there was the psychological factor to be reckoned with. Every time the strikers were attacked as "aliens," "un-American," "foreign agitators," etc., their resentment and indignation grew. If fighting for a cause was a criterion for Americanism the clothing workers were ready to show that they were good Americans. On January 2, 1919, however, the assurance of victory was confirmed.

On that day President Hillman and the officers of our Chicago organization concluded negotiations with the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx in Chicago for the renewal of our agreement with that firm. That carried with it the forty-four hour week and wage increases of 8 3/4 percent. to piece workers and \$2 a week to week workers, retroactive to December 1, 1918. At a great mass meeting at Orchestra Hall that evening, President Hillman so reported to the members. The meeting, which

was a huge, triumphal demonstration, voted the entire amount of back pay on the wage increase, about sixty thousand dollars, for the New York strike.

The victory in Chicago was an answer to those who had scoffed at us as visionaries and rainbow chasers because we fought for the forty-four hour week. There was conclusive proof to all doubters that the thing was possible. There was also assurance to friend and foe that with the forty-four hour week in Chicago, New York would not have a longer week. The sixty thousand dollar message from our 6,500 Chicago members was one of the many convincing demonstrations for those who had hoped and wished for our defeat that we were in a position to hold our line.

The strike in New York made the victory in Chicago possible; the victory in Chicago hastened the day of triumph in New York.

### The Conference That Ended the Strike

On January 15, 1919, we received a communication from Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Chairman of the War Labor Policies Board, asking us and the employers' association to attend a conference with the view of ending the strike.

We accepted the invitation; likewise the employers. Our reply to Professor Frankfurter was as follows:

(Telegram)

January 15, 1919.

Felix Frankfurter, Chairman, War Labor Policies Board, Washington, D. C.

I am authorized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to accept your kind invitation to meet in conference with the employers in this city with a view of reaching an adjustment in the existing controversy in the clothing industry. We shall hold ourselves ready to respond at your earliest convenience.

#### SIDNEY HILLMAN.

We met in conference Friday, January 17, 1919, at the Bar Association Building. Our organization was represented by the General Officers and delegations from the two Joint Boards. The American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association was represented by its president, Max Friedman; its counsel, Walter Drew, and a number of others. Prof. Felix Frankfurter presided.

## The Advisory Board

The first meeting did not hold out much hope for a speedy settlement. It was finally agreed to submit the entire matter to an Advisory Board to consist of the following persons: Prof. William Z. ipley, chairman, Felix Frankfurter and Louis Marshall, to make such recommendations as they might deem justified.

As regards arbitration of the Organization's demands—44-hour week and 20 percent. wage increase—the membership took a position in this

case identical with the position taken two years earlier, when the forty-eight hour week was being fought for: No modification in the demand for the shorter hours and freedom of action for the officers, to do as best they can, in the demand for higher wages. That was the second great occasion for our members to demonstrate the fact that their major interest is in high social principles and that these control their actions. Better wages are of tremendous importance to workers whose sole income are wages, but in every case where better wages were demanded along with higher social standards, the membership was resolute on the latter and ready for modification and compromise, if necessary, on the former.

The three gentlemen above named generously consented, as a public duty, to act as an Advisory Board, as requested of them by the Conference. They took up the task immediately and gave freely of their valuable time and energy in order to bring the strike to an end.

### The Great Triumph in New York

January 22, 1919, the Board submitted the following report to both parties:

The undersigned, having been designated as an Advisory Board to consider the controversies existing between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association, which have led to a cessation of the activities of both during the past three months, have met with Messrs. Sidney Hillman, representing the employees, and Max H. Friedman, representing the employers, with a view of arriving at an understanding which would terminate the existing deplorable conditions. They have presented the grievances of their respective organizations. The employees have asked for a curtailment of the hours of work, and a wage increase. The employers are not in accord with the contentions of the employees with respect to these points, and at the same time, have urged the necessity of establishing relations which will bring about better discipline and increased efficiency, and a proper standard of production in the industry.

In the short time that has elapsed since the creation of this Board, it has been impossible to obtain the data and information necessary to the making of satisfactory recommendations with respect to the many important propositions involved, and at the same time to enable an immediate return of the workmen to their employment and the resumption by the employers of their business activities, which is of primary importance. Impressed by the importance of an immediate resumption of the industry, the Board unanimously recommends:

- 1. The adoption of the 44-hour week to begin from the date when work shall be resumed. In this connection the hope is earnestly entertained that this precedent be recognized throughout the industry, in view of the desirability of bringing about its proper standardization. It would be regarded as unfortunate if the hours of labor should vary in this industry in the several important centers where it is extensively conducted.
- 2. In view of the absence of any reliable data indicating the existing basis of compensation to the employees, and the cost of living to which they are now subjected, it is impossible to reach any satisfactory conclusion without first obtaining the result of an inquiry and collation of facts by a skilled investigator. It is, therefore, recommended that such an investigator be designated by this Board, at the expense of both parties to this controversy, to proceed forthwith

to make the necessary inquiry and to report the facts as ascertained to the Board for further action.

3. The Board recognizes the importance, to employer and employed alike, of the formulation of principles and the establishment of machinery calculated to carry them into effect, which will result in its improvement as far as efficiency, discipline and production are concerned. To deal adequately with these problems will likewise require careful study by this Board, the assistance and opinions of those who have had experience in dealing with these phases of the problem, and an investigation of the bearings of the various propositions involved upon the industry in general.

Obviously a reasonable time will be required in which to take up this branch of the subject. In the meantime, the only conclusion that the Board has reached is that it will be of essential importance for the parties to agree upon the selection of an Impartial Chairman or Advisor to adjudicate upon the various questions that are certain to arise from time to time in the industry. Whatever plan may be ultimately determined upon will necessarily revolve around such a central figure.

The Board is unanimously of the opinion that the employees should at once return to their post, and that the employers shall proceed to open their shops for regular operation.

January 22, 1919.

WILIAM Z. RIPLEY LOUIS MARSHALL FELIX FRANKFURTER

With the acceptance of the above report by the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association the forty-four hour week was conceded to our membership in New York.

On January 23, the report of the Advisory Board was accepted by the membership at seventeen large, crowded and enthusiastic mass meetings in Greater New York. The following week all returned to work on the new basis.

Thus the forty-four hour week became a real and live fact.

The feelings then experienced by the victorious workers may be easier imagined than described.

#### What It Meant to Us

We were naturally and rightfully elated over our victory. To be proud of a victory bravely fought for and honestly won is a human weakness not to be ashamed of. But we did not have that feeling of victory which implies a rejoicing in the defeat of the adversary. Our victory, as we felt and interpreted it, was of a radically different kind. To the outside world it consisted entirely in the fact of our having won a shorter work week; to us it was not confined to that one and isolated fact; to us it had a greater and higher meaning.

We still remembered 1913 and the years before that. In the struggles of those years we begged help in the streets—alms, charity, to feed our hungry families. We asked the public to listen to our stories of poverty, misery and starvation, and help us. Our means of conducting the fight depended upon the accident of the public's generosity. That

was only five—six years ago. Now we proudly declare that by our united power we have banished the misery and sufferings of the past. We are enjoying better conditions today than we did years ago, but we want them still better; we have a higher standard of living today but we want it still higher; we want to live as happy as useful citizens are entitled to in this great day of highly developed technique. In the past we fought for a larger crust of bread, now we have the strength to fight for larger liberties, for a principle, for an ideal, for something that practical people call a dream, but which is turned into a reality by hard fighting.

In the past we had nothing but what the public gave us, this time we financed a long struggle of sixty thousand people, involving an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars, entirely from our own funds. With the exception of slightly over eleven thousand dollars, given to us by a few organizations unasked, as an expression of solidarity, every cent that went to conduct the gigantic struggle came from our own treasury, contributed by the membership throughout the country. The contributions from outside organizations were as follows:

United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of North America, Local	
No. 1, New York	\$200.00
Children's Shoe Workers' Union, New York	100.00
Employes of Scotch Woolen Mills, Cleveland,	
(United Garment Workers)	25.00
Embroidery Workers' Local 66, I. L. G. W. U., New York	200.00
Joint Board Furriers' Union, New York	5,000.00
Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, Local No. 5, New York	500.00
Mineral Water Workers' Union, Local 311, New York	20.00
Second Assembly District, Bronx, Socialist Party	5.00
Fourth Assembly District, Bronx, Socialist Party	45.00
Joint Board Furriers' Union, New York	5,000.00
About the same state of the same of the same and the same and the same are same of the sam	
Total	11.095.00

Whoever can imagine himself in the place of people who but a few years ago had been utterly helpless and who have, unassisted, risen to a position of power, where they can, at a very critical time for the labor movement, singlehandedly, in the face of all opposition and discouragement, blaze the way to a new and higher standard for all workers, will be able to appreciate our sentiments on the day of victory. They were free from narrow selfishness. In our official organ we gave expression to them in the following language:

Our great victory was the greatest event in this country since the signing of the armistice.

It may have been a mere accident that it fell to the lot of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, an "illegitimate" organization, in the language of the employers, an excommunicated organization, in the language of the labor misleaders:—it may have been a mere accident that it was our fate to be the first labor organization in the country to meet the assault of Capitalism upon the Labor Movement.

The destruction of the Labor Movement was the "reconstruction" program of organized Capital. The first shot was fired at our organization. We did not flinch. In serried lines we met fire with fire. The

employers bonded themselves to prove that their bond was as good as their word; we pledged ourselves to prove that our word was as good as our bond.

The employers enlisted the support of their class fellows throughout the land. We enlisted the support of all Amalgamated members throughout the land. Both armies were fully and completely mobilized. No army asked or offered quarter. It was unrelenting fight along the entire front.

Unlimited funds on one side; unbounded idealism and enthusiasm on the other side.

Lofty idealism can't fill empty stomachs, argued the employers. Low materialism and sordid cash are required for that. Starvation will force the workers into submission.

Big money chests can't make clothing, insisted the workers. Real and live human beings are required to people the shops and fill the customers' orders. Loss of business and profits will bring the employers to terms.

Were we dreamers? Were we visionaries?

January 22, 1919, is the answer.

We dreamed of the realization of the workers' rights, and the dream came true. We saw a vision of a better life for the toiling masses, and the vision has become a reality.

Are we dreamers and visionaries? Possibly. But it is just such dreaming and vision-seeing as ours that moves the world on the path of civilization.

When we proclaimed our intention to secure the forty-four hour week the employers told us that we would have to fight for it. Unhesitatingly we replied that we would fight and—win.

We fought—and never was there a more clear cut class struggle in this or any other country.

We won—and never was a working class victory more complete, thorough-going, inspiring and constructive.

Not only did all the tremendous moral strength come from our own great reservoir, unassisted by outsiders but, with the exception of a few thousand dollars, the hundreds of thousands of dollars consumed in order to sustain the struggle likewise came from our own ranks.

While the struggle was a tremendous strain, we had sufficient selfengendered vitality to continue it many months longer if necessary.

We have put up as good a fight as any labor organization anywhere or at any time has made. Our victory was as honestly earned as a working class victory ever was.

But we entertain no feelings against the employers. They wished us to prove our title to the 44-hour week. We proved it and they now recognize it. It would have been wiser for them to recognize our claim without a struggle, but it was their good right to force one on us if they so chose. That right is inherent in the class struggle.

As for ourselves, we can only say that, while we would have much preferred to achieve our end without a struggle, we are, now that the struggle is over, grateful for it. It has served to fortify our organization still more, raise our spirit still higher and enhance the fighting capacity of our militant army. Infinitely dearer is the victory to us now that we have achieved it through a struggle forced upon us.

At our Baltimore Convention last May, we enacted the 44-hour law. The employers refused to recognize it and appealed to the Supreme Court of the Lockout. The case was hotly contested by both parties. The Supreme Court of the Lockout has now ruled that the 44-hour law IS CONSTITUTIONAL. Will the employers in other parts of the country still contest the law's constitutionality? There are indications that the employers everywhere will abide by the New York decision.

Clothing manufacturers in Chicago and Rochester have already so announced, and others are likely to follow.

The legislation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is now being respected by the entire industry.

Our victory means legislation not only for the clothing industry but also for the entire Labor Movement. It has paved the way to victory for the striking Waistmakers and also for the Furriers who are now on the threshold of a strike. The employers in those industries can't help conceding the 44-hour week now that we have made it a law in the clothing industry.

Our victory is also a bugle call to all other labor organizations. What we could do, others ought to be able to do. Ours is among the youngest labor organizations in the country. Let the older organizations draw courage and inspiration from the accomplishments of their younger sister.

It may have been a mere accident for our organization to be called upon to take up the first great battle and achieve the first great and historic victory since the end of the war, but we hope we would not be charged with exceeding the limitations of propriety by frankly admitting that we are both proud and happy in the consciousness that it was our good fortune to be the successful and victorious vanguard in the great movement of working class reconstruction.

The official Labor Movement does not recognize our existence, our struggles and our victories, and is, therefore, deprived of the credit for our successes and victories that would otherwise have been its own.

We send this message to our fellow workers in and out of the official Labor Movement. "We have organized, built, fought and won single-handed. But we have done all that not for ourselves alone but for the working class as a whole. Whatever your attitude towards us may be, we know you only as flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. We have made a glorious beginning. We hope to see you follow our example. Our happiness will be greater and more complete if we should be enabled to assist other members of our class in attaining for themselves what we have already attained for ourselves.

"We are entering an era of great labor organization, great labor reconstruction, and the struggle for full industrial democracy. Our achievement is the first great victory of that era. More such victories and more strength to the rising ruler of the world—Labor."

The establishment of the forty-four hour week in our industry was discussed from many angles by the public press. The well known liberal journal, *The New Republic*, contained such an intelligent and sympathetic statement of our case, in its issue of February 1st, 1919, that we gladly reproduce it here in full:

### The Forty-Four Hour Week

Last May at their convention in Baltimore the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America voted to establish the forty-four hour week in the men's clothing industry. This meant that they were no longer satisfied with the straight eight hour a day six days in the week for which the American Federation of Labor had been contending for more than a generation. Fourteen weeks ago their employers denied their demand. A combined lockout and strike followed. Last week this contest ended in complete victory for the workers. According to the officers of the union, this is the first case in which the forty-four hour week has been established as the standard throughout an American industry.

This fact in itself is sufficiently noteworthy; but the circumstances surrounding the achievement are even more remarkable. majority of the men's clothing makers are recent immigrants, men and women whom the older American unions have sought to exclude from the country for fear that they would lend themselves to the debasement of the "American standard of living." This fear and the resulting prejudice against these immigrant workers is in part responsible for the exclusion of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The long strike for the forty-four hour week has been won without either the moral or financial support of the official organized labor movement by an "outlawed" organization of immigrant workers, who have thus forged into a position of leadership in the improvement of working standards. It is not surprising, therefore, that these despised immigrants should celebrate their triumph as a battle won by themselves in behalf of American workers generally. The leading article in their official journal, the Advance, rejoices that "our victory means legislation not only for the clothing industry but also for the entire Labor Movement. . . . The official Labor Movement does not recognize our existence, our struggles or our victories. But we send this message to our fellow workers in and out of the official Labor Movement: 'We have organized, built, fought and won single-handed. But we have done all this not for ourselves alone, but for the working class as a whole. Whatever your attitude toward us may be, we know you only as flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. We have made a glorious beginning. We hope to see you follow our example."

To have been excluded from the American Federation of Labor, to have been looked down upon as immigrants and a menace to the living standards of American workmen, and then to have established a new high standard in one of the most important of American industries, is cause for justifiable pride. But to most Americans who share the

rather common prejudice against these Jewish workmen their further grounds for rejoicing will seem particularly interesting. Their long struggle for the shorter work period was principally inspired by the conviction that, without the leisure which the forty-four hour week assures, it is impossible for the wage-working masses to cultivate those faculties the intelligent exercise of which is essential to responsible citizenship in a democracy. One frequently hears these immigrant workers sharply criticised because, having come to America to enjoy the advantages guaranteed by our free institutions, they are so agressive in their expression of discontent with conditions as they find them in American industry. As a matter of fact, their discontent is not with America, but with Americans who fail to make American ideals their daily guides to conduct in politics and business. Their fault is that they take our professed democratic ideals seriously and literally. Their worship of democracy is ardent; their sense of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship is a vital part of their daily lives. And taking these responsibilities seriously they feel that they cannot permit their work at the machine so to exhaust them that their energy and will for the exercise of intelligent citizenship are destroyed. To them the fortyfour hour week "insures to all workers the essential minimum of leisure not only to enjoy life but also to become better workers and better citizens.'

At a time when democracy is being subjected to tests of unprecedented severity throughout the world, this attitude toward better citizenship and better workmanship is both inspiring and reassuring. Democracy has too often been interpreted as a release from responsibility rather than as a challenge to new and more exacting responsibilities. As a result its opponents have been able with a certain appearance of truth to charge it with slackness, corruption and inefficiency. One of the favorite claims of the defenders of the old German autocracy was that in every direction their form of government developed a more efficient and responsible citizenship. They charged that the workers in democratic countries were perpetually seeking to evade responsibility, to limit output rather than to foster high standards of production, and that this tendency toward ca'canny and slacking was a fatal weakness of the democratic nations. That they themselves secured efficiency through arbitrary and dictatorial methods at the risk of personal liberty seemed to them unimportant. It was "human nature" to do as little work as possible. The political corruption and industrial inefficiency of the democratic nations marked them for destruction.

To meet the exactions of the war, the democratic nations did, as a matter of fact, have to resort to a measure of arbitrary compulsion to remove limitations on output and to enforce standards of efficient production. The war seems clearly to have demonstrated that the future of democracy depends in no small degree upon the capacity of employers and workers to harmonize democratic ideals of freedom with the voluntary self-discipline essential to efficient production. Whatever the form of government, no modern nation can hope to survive and prosper whose economic and industrial life is shot through with the spirit of slacking and sabotage.

No group of men in America has a keener appreciation of this fact than the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. They are among the first of the organized labor bodies to cooperate with their more enlightened employers in the development of standards of efficient output. No principle has been more strongly emphasized by their leaders than "the right of the employer to efficiency." They have persisted in their demand for the shorter work week not only because of the workers' right to leisure but also because long hours are among the most fruitful cause The needle trades are notoriously seasonal of inefficient production. trades. Workers can count on the average upon hardly more than thirty weeks of employment during the year-from fourteen to twenty weeks of continuous work and an approximately equal amount made up of a day or two a week during the remainder of the year. This irregularity of employment breaks down morale among the workers whose economic security during half of the year is precarious; it destroys the spirit of craftsmanship; it keeps expensive and costly plants idle for an extravagantly large part of the time. The reduction of weekly hours will compel an equalization of employment from season to season: it will compel more scientific methods of accountancy and management; it will reduce unemployment; in every direction it will tend to stimulate productive efficiency.

The initiative in bringing about this important industrial reform was taken by the workers; to them the credit for the achievement is primarily and principally due. But much credit is also due to certain of the leading manufacturers in the men's clothing industry. many other occasions, the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx of Chicago proved their faith in the processes of industrial democracy by reaching an agreement with the union through quiet and businesslike negotiation. For years this firm has been operating under what is practically a closed-shop agreement with the Amalgamated. They recognize the workers' right to continuous employment, fair wages and decent leisure as the workers recognize the firm's right to efficient service. As the result of their liberal attitude there was no strike in Chicago and no lockout. In the language of the union's official organ, there were "only friendly negotiations. . . . No sensational newspaper stories. No police and no courts of law. No comic opera heroics and no union-baiting lawyers. Just a plain commonsense discussion by fellow human beings representing different parties to the issue, seeking a solution of the problem. Production was continued while the discussion was going on. The workers received their wages regularly, the firm filled its orders uninterruptedly. In due course the forty-four hour week was agreed upon and the workers were so informed."

This action by Hart, Schaffner and Marx meant that similar action throughout the industry was only a matter of time. Their decision was authoritative for the industry because during a period of years they had given a practical demonstration that the spirit of industrial democracy applied in cooperation with a responsible union pays in financial returns, pays in quality of workmanship, pays in terms of good will and human life and in terms of democratic citizenship. As the immigrants who so largely composed the union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have forged their way into a position of leadership among American wage-workers, so such firms as Hart, Schaffner and Marx are taking a position of leadership in the practical application of democratic methods and American ideals to the management of American industry. It is entirely possible that to such employers and their immigrant workmen, whose devotion to our American democratic ideals was kin-

dled into living flame by their experience of European autocracies, America may yet be indebted for a rational and peaceful progression through political into industrial democracy. For the leisure for the enjoyment of life which the forty-four hour week does so much to assure is one of the main objectives of the revolutions which are establishing new forms of government in Europe.

## Collective Machinery And Wage Increase Award

In accordance with the recommendation of the Advisory Board, a collective arrangement was entered into with the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association. Mr. George L. Bell was chosen Impartial Chairman, and he entered upon his duties February 18, 1919.

The Advisory Board authorized Dr. N. I. Stone to make an investigation into the earnings of the workers in the industry and the cost of living, in order to guide them in determining the question of a wage increase.

Under the circumstances, the investigation was hasty and incomplete, as is made clear by Dr. Stone in his report, which appears as an appendix to this report.

While this investigation was being made by Dr. Stone, Prof. Frankfurter left for Paris in connection with the Peace Conference. Mr. Samuel J. Rosensohn was chosen to fill his place.

The Advisory Board held a hearing on Dr. Stone's report, listening to arguments from both sides, and on March 4 awarded the following wage increase, effective April 1, 1919: \$2 a week to the week workers; 10 percent. to all piece workers except knee pants makers; 12 1-2 percent to knee pants makers.

## Letter of Appreciation

The following letter of appreciation was sent to each member of the Advisory Board, Prof. William Z. Ripley, Louis Marshall and Samuel J. Rosensohn:

March 8, 1919.

The members of our organization know that you and the other members of the Advisory Board have given liberally of your precious time and rendered most valuable service in adjusting the disputes in the clothing industry in New York. We feel that you will be glad to know that the membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America appreciate greatly all that you have done, and we take this means of communicating the fact to you.

We take this opportunity also to extend to you our own personal thanks and assurance of our high esteem.

The clothing industry was indeed fortunate in enlisting the cooperation of yourself and your colleagues. An industrial dispute was never dealt with by a group of men more intelligent, courageous and public spirited, including not only the present members of the Advisory Board but also Mr. Felix Frankfurter.

Again thanking you, we beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,
Sidney Hillman, General President.
Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary.

# The Forty-Four Hour Week Nation-Wide

The winning of the forty-four hour week in New York was so sensational an event that it stirred the country, particularly, of course, the clothing industry. It was generally accepted that the decision in New York was a decision for the industry everywhere. Wherever the employers lacked the good sense to grant the shorter week peacefully, they only invited a struggle. The workers could not be expected to be contented with longer hours than have been accepted by the industry. Our own membership was electrified. Congratulations poured into the General Office from all parts of the United States and Canada. The membership everywhere utilized the opportunity to carry our message to those who were still unorganized and bring them into our ranks.

We did not have to wait long to see the effect of the New York victory. It was immediate and general.

January 23, on the day after the decision was rendered in New York, the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange announced the forty-four hour week, effective May 1.

February 13, when an agreement was concluded by the Amalgamated with the Exchange, the date for the beginning of the forty-four hour week was changed to April 1. A campaign for organization and forty-four hours was then carried on by the Amalgamated in Rochester.

January 27, the Wholesale Clothiers' Association of Chicago announced the forty-four hour week beginning April 28 and a 10 percent. wage increase. Chicago was at that time developing a powerful organization campaign.

January 29, the A. B. Kirschbaum Company of Philadelphia gave notice that the forty-four hour week would begin May 1. The Kirschbaum firm, contrary to its old anti-labor policy, was compelled to meet representatives of the Union in connection with Army uniform production when Prof. William Z. Ripley was authorized to protect labor standards. The organizing campaign among the Kirschbaum employes was vigorously continued.

February 4, the forty-four hour week became an established fact in Baltimore. The negotiations bringing that about were conducted by Brother Hyman Blumberg, Manager of the District Council.

February 10, the Kahn Tailoring Company of Indianapolis, Ind., announced the forty-four hour week for April 1. January 23, the Union won a strike in that house and was steadily increasing its membership in the city.

February 12, the Union and the Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association reached an agreement fixing March 1 as the date for the forty-four hour week to begin. It was also agreed that the wage increase to be granted in New York should apply to Boston.

February 15, the Montreal employers granted the forty-four hour week beginning April 1.

February 15, the clothing manufacturers in Cincinnati announced the forty-six hour week, later changed to forty-four hours, for March 28, in the hope of checking our rapidly developing organization campaign.

February 18, a strike began in Syracuse, New York, for the forty-four hour week.

February 18, the forty-four hour campaign opened in Cleveland.

February 25, the clothing manufacturers in Philadelphia announced the forty-four hour week to go into effect April 1.

February 25, the manufacturers in Hamilton, Canada, announced the forty-four hour week to begin April 1. Toronto, near which Hamilton is located, was the first clothing market in North America to enjoy the forty-four hour week. While others were still struggling for forty-eight hours, Toronto had the shorter week.

March 8, negotiations in Pittsburg resulted in an agreement on the forty-four hour week to go into effect March 17, also a \$2 wage increase.

April 18, first settlement in Buffalo with Herman Wile for the fortyfour hour week.

June 6, first settlement for a forty-four hour week in St. Paul, Minn., (with Gordon & Ferguson).

June 30, first settlement for forty-four hour week in Milwaukee, Wis., (with the English Woolen Mills).

August 22, the forty-four hour week was established in a number of shops in St. Louis, Mo.

August 27, the forty-four hour week was made a reality in Louisville, Ky., by a settlement with Sherman & Son.

Thus the forty-four hour week quickly became the standard working week in all important clothing markets, and was in course of time extended to all smaller markets. The organization fought it out in New York for the industry throughout the continent.

The forty-four hour week victory made the universal organization of the workers in the industry possible.

## New York Market Completely Organized

The American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association appointed Mr. Byers H. Gitchell as Labor Manager, and gave him a staff of assistants. That enabled us to take up questions as they arose in the industrial relations between our organization and the association. The collective machinery for the clothing industry in New York was then fully established and functioning under the Chairmanship of Mr. George Bell.

On June 24 a wage increase was secured for our members on the basis of an inverted ratio. The increases in the past had always been uniform for all workers. This time the principle was adopted of giving the largest increase to the lowest paid and the smallest increase to the

highest paid. In that way the evil of very wide difference in wages was corrected to a large extent by raising the lowest paid to the higher level of the better paid. The increases were in the following manner:

Up to	\$24 per	week\$6
	\$25-\$32	\$5
		\$4
	\$40 up	\$3

with an additional dollar a month for those whom the wage increase would not bring to the scale of their classification.

On March 31 the custom tailors demanded a forty-four hour week and a wage increase. They secured both by negotiation and without a strike.

There was one section of the industry in New York by which our organization was still officially unrecognized and the employers were resisting the efforts of the employees to organize. Wherever workers are organizing and the employers are seeking to check them a clash is inevitable, particularly where the bulk of the industry is strongly organized and controlling conditions. Thus a strike began against the firm of Cohen, Goldman & Co. on June 7, 1919.

We had met with that firm during the war when it held contracts for Army uniforms and was subject to the Government's labor regulation for that industry. But we met then not for the purpose of negotiation. It was in connection with grievances submitted by the firm's employees through us to Prof. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards. We were then in court, as it were, with the workers as the plaintiffs and the firm as the defendants. We were not in conference. The strike of June 7 led to a conference, which, in turn, resulted in an agreement on August 19, 1919, between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the New York Clothing Trades' Association, of which firm Cohen, Goldman & Co. was and still is a member.

The agreement is on the same basis as the one now existing in Chicago, including the preferential Union shop. The association has, for the purposes of the agreement, the Impartial Chairman machinery under Mr. Bell, with Harrison H. Wheaton as Labor Manager for the Association.

That completed the organization of the New York market under the banner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Later a wage increase was secured for the spring season of 1919-20 at about the same time as in all other markets.

November 22, 1919, Mr. Bell took indefinite leave of absence to return to his home in California. His place has since been filled by the Associate Chairman, Mr. David C. Adie.

Gratifying progress has been made in unifying the various Locals of the New York Joint Board. The coat tailors have united Locals 2, 215 and the tailor members of Local 213 under Local 2. The coat pressers have merged Locals 3, 72 and 214 into Local 3. The coat operators have reorganized Locals 156 and 259 and the operator members of Local 213 as Local 5. The cutters have combined Locals 4 and 9 in Local

4, which is now popularly known as "Big Four." Locals 244 and 245, Buttonhole Makers, united as Local 50. The process of greater solidification is still continuing. While we are increasing the membership we are, relatively speaking, reducing the number of locals.

You are now, when the Convention is in session, familiar with the case tried in a Rochester court last month and this month, April and May, 1920. As will be explained more fully below, the employes of Michaels, Stern & Co. went on strike and the firm applied to the courts for an injunction and damages to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars.

There is a situation in New York that is the exact counterpart of the Rochester situation. In New York the employees of Rogers Peet Co. went on strike July 1, 1919. Instead of agreeing to deal with representatives of the workers and reach an adjustment of the dispute the firm brought suit for an injunction and one hundred thousand dollars damages. It secured a temporary injunction on September 8, 1919. The firm later amended its complaint by raising the amount of damages asked from one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) to two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000).

### The Children's Clothing Workers

It has already been stated that we still have two Joint Boards in New York. There is no justification for it. On the contrary, this condition is a source of weakness. We have been unable to remedy it so far. The best we can do is to make haste slowly. Considerable progress has been made in the direction of one Joint Board, and we do hope that the desired goal will be reached in the near future.

While the Children's Clothing Workers are organized in the antiquated form inherited from the U. G. W. of A., their organization is exposed to grave danger. The rank and file are loyal and the organization is dear to them, but the defective form of organization is endangering its very existence. As a result a very serious situation developed last year.

On August 12, 1919, the General Secretary was informed by Executive Board members of Local 12 that a manufacturer charged their Business Agent with having asked of him a bribe of \$1000. The Secretary held a preliminary hearing and found that the testimony given warranted a thorough investigation. The Executive Committee, and also the Local Union, asked the Secretary to arrange for such an investigation. Accordingly, he appointed an Investigating Committee, consisting of the following persons: Abraham Shiplacoff, Peter Monat, Abraham Miller, I. Goldstein and Jacob Panken. The committee made a very painstaking investigation. It met with most discouraging obstacles, but finally came to the bottom of the facts. It made a report to the membership, with its findings as given below. The committee particularly emphasized the fact that the unfortunate form of organization was responsible for all that had happened, and pointed out that unless immediate steps are taken to reorganize the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board, with the ultimate purpose of merging it with the New York Joint Board, and raise it to the highest degree of efficiency, the action in the present cases would only be an incident and the evil would continue.

The report, findings and recommendations of the Committee were accepted.

Let the following from Advance of Friday, November 21, 1919, tell the story:

## PROTECT THE HONOR AND INTEGRITY OF THE ORGANIZATION

We are paying our penalty for being a big and powerful labor organization. It would have been entirely unnatural for an organization of the size, power and prestige of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to escape the nefarious conspiracies of the enemies of the organized workers, who seek to destroy their organizations. In different places and at different times the conspiracies may assume different forms, but the purpose is always the same.

In Chicago the attack was made through the State's Attorney's office. A spectacular raid upon the office of our organization was followed by sensational newspaper stories, issued without any foundation in fact. Wild charges were made and sent broadcast throughout the country upon the good old principle of the German Junkers: "Slander and calumniate, something is bound to stick." The capitalist press gave full publicity to the character assassination by the conspirators, but found no space for a statement from us.

To make the story more gripping and give it a melodramatic effect an attempt was made to bring a woman into the "case." But the woman refused to be misled into the affair, and most of the punch of the conspirators was lost.

In New York the organization was attacked in a more subtle manner.

There is a small section of our organization in New York which had refused to accept the modern form of industrial organization. Thus, along with the big, compact and efficient New York Joint Board, with one central directing authority for all fifty thousand members, and an effective self discipline, there is a weak and loose Joint Board of Children's Clothing Workers, with a group of detached and "sovereign" Local Unions, embracing a membership of about ten thousand. The Business Agent is the "Supreme Ruler" of his Local Union. Various attempts had been made to bring this organization up to the Amalgamated standard, but all efforts were frustrated by those officials who had good reasons to oppose them.

Some employers took advantage of the unfortunate situation and succeeded in injecting the poison of bribery. If not checked in time, that method of corruption would have so undermined the vitality of the Children's Clothing Workers' organization as perhaps to wipe it out. The antiquated form of organization made detection of the corruption exceedingly difficult. But it was detected and checked.

One official was charged with seeking a bribe of One Thousand Dollars. After a long and searching investigation, he confessed to the charge. The official declared that he had been so tempted by the repeated offers from employers that he yielded. Later he began making demands instead of waiting for offers. That official was Louis Krupitzky, Business Agent of Local 12. He confessed, and so did his two associates, Louis Feder and David Schatz, also of Local 12.

At a joint meeting of the Children's Clothing Workers' Joint Board and Local Executives the report of the Investigating Committee was accepted and the above named three men were expelled from membership in the A. C. W. of A.

The Investigating Committee reported that it did not confine itself to charges of bribery, and investigated other conditions in the organization. As a result, the following members were suspended for a term of five years from membership in the A.C.W. of A.: Louis Winder, chairman and temporary Business Agent of Local 12; Israel Nemetzky, Secretary of Local 12, and Louis Leibowitz, member of Local 7 and its delegate to the Joint Board.

The Investigating Committee also directed further investigations into some phases of the prevailing situation, and the immediate reconstruction of the Children's Clothing Workers' organization along lines that will make for soundness, stability, responsibility, and the annihilation of the traffic in bribery by employers.

We are confident that the conspiracy to destroy the Children's Clothing Workers' organization by corrupting its officials has been smashed for all time. These workers will now raise their organization to the high level of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers throughout the land.

There is a warning in the above for all Amalgamated members. We must guard the honor and integrity of our organization. Our enemies are many and their ways vary. They may attack us openly, as they did in Chicago; they may stab us insidiously, as they did in New York; they may, through their numerous spies and provocateurs in our ranks, steal themselves into our bosom and sap our strength.

We must be on guard at all points. We must always be conscious of the designs of the enemy upon us. Beware of the enemy's emissaries. Let us not be carried off our feet by strong phrases. The enemy knows how to use them as a guise.

Be on guard!

The Committee also reported that Isidor Ludwig, Business Agent of Local 11, Pressers, had offered to resign from his office if the committee so desired. When his resignation was called for he refused. The Committee decided that he be removed from his office. That, too, was accepted.

The work of reorganizing the Joint Board was immediately taken up and some progress has already been made.

Of the persons above mentioned the following appealed from the decisions of the Investigating Committee to the General Executive Board at its session in New York last January: Louis Feder, David Schatz, Israel Nemetzky and Isidor Ludwig. The appeals were referred to a Committee consisting of the following board members: Frank Rosenblum, Lazarus Marcovitz and August Bellanca.

The Committee was directed to examine the minutes of the several cases and submit a report of its findings by mail to the Board members for their votes.

### INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUTION IN ROCHESTER

In our report to the Baltimore Convention, we expressed the hope of organizing Rochester; today it is an accomplished fact.

At the time that our previous Convention was held, an organization campaign was in progress in that city under the leadership of Brother Alex Cohen. As the campaign was developing, the membership was growing.

In the month of July, a strike for wage increases occurred in the factory of Rosenberg Bros. and threatened to spread to the entire industry in that city. The strike began July 16. On July 18 President Hillman arrived in Rochester to take hold of the situation. Negotiations led to an understanding that the matter be left to arbitration. Saturday, July 20, the organization accepted the arbitration proposal and the following Monday the people were back at work.

Prof. William Z. Ripley and Louis E. Kirstein were chosen as arbitrators. That was an epoch-making event; the entering wedge of collective bargaining in Rochester. The workers fully appreciated the great significance of the new developments and were jubilant. They joined the organization en masse.

The arbitrators held hearings in Rochester on the cases of Rosenberg Bros. and Levy Bros., another firm that became involved in a wage dispute.

At the conclusion of the hearings, Prof. Ripley announced that when an award would be made it would apply to the entire market. He issued the following statement:

When all the world is at war and the industrial peace of our country is threatened by widespread strikes, it is a matter for congratulation to the employers and the workers in the clothing industry of Rochester, as well as to the community at large, that by common consent the rule of right and reason should be substituted for resort to force. In pursuance of this principle an arrangement has been consummated for an adjustment as to wages by submission of this question to us as impartial parties.

The proceedings of the two days just past have convinced us that the employers and their employes, in accepting this procedure, are acting in entire good faith and have no disposition to do anything but what is right and fair. Every opportunity has been afforded for ascertaining the facts and every guarantee is offered that the decision, when made, will be scrupulously followed.

The procedure is necessarily complicated. The first step is the adjustment of the particular wage dispute in the houses of Rosenberg Bros. and Levy Bros. As to conditions in these factories, evidence has been taken by the personal appearance of many workers and their chosen representatives. Our investigation of wage conditions will not be confined to the adjustment in these two cases and our decision, when made, will, according to the understanding, apply to the houses of practically the entire market. And finally, it is hoped that the standardization of wages in Rochester, thus attained, will operate to promote national industrial standardization in this regard.

It is apparent from the foregoing statement that the final decision will require most careful attention and that such a decision can not be rendered immediately. In order, however, that the delay may not impose a hardship upon the workers, it has been agreed that the wages to be determined shall date from July 15th.

The provision of this machinery for obviating strife in the industry is not merely a temporary make-shift. It is the desire of the employers and their employees alike, that the adjustment finally reached should continue until industrial conditions change sufficiently to call for re-consideration. Therefore, it has been agreed that the decision as to another investigation shall rest with the Adjustment Board, upon request. In this manner it is hoped that a continuing peace and good feeling may be promoted in the community.

The Adjustment Board being convinced of the entire good faith of both parties to this understanding, in conclusion, takes the liberty of urging upon all those concerned, that they be patient in awaiting the decision; and that in the meantime they manifest their confidence by a continuance of the friendly relationships which have in the past so largely prevailed between the employers and the workers in this city. Should this experiment in industrial government succeed, a great contribution will have been made by the clothing industry of Rochester to our national welfare, at this critical period of American History.

## On August 21 the arbitrators gave out the following award:

1, Wage increases shall be granted as follows:

Under \$15 per weekincrease—20	per	cent
\$15 to \$20 per weekincrease—17	per	cent .
\$20 to \$25 per weekincrease—18		
Over \$25 per weekincrease—10	per	cent

These increases are payable on or before the second pay day in September. 2. The above increases are to be based on the rates and average weekly earnings per operation in effect during the week ending July 13, 1918, and to be retroactive to the week beginning July 15, 1918.

- 3. All increases granted by individual firms generally, and for particular operations, since July 15th are to be accounted as a part of the general increases above named, although in no instances are reductions from any figures thus individually granted to take place. In other words if a firm has already granted an 8 per cent increase on an operation entitled to a 20 per cent increase, due account shall be taken of this increase in figuring the total due since July 15th; but if an increase of 25 per cent shall have been granted that shall in no way be affected by this decree.
- 4. The foregoing increases shall govern until either market or cost of living conditions change, the decision as to reopening the investigation to rest with the arbitrators.
- 5. Time and a half shall be paid for overtime both for piece workers and those employed on an hourly basis.
- 6. A minimum rate of \$12.00 per week of 48 hours shall be in effect for all female operatives in the industry.
- 7. In addition to the increases above named, the arbitrators will continue to make further adjustments in the direction of standardization; for example, if it be found upon examination that a section in a certain factory, after receiving the above increase is still being paid less than the wage for such operations commonly paid in the industry, an additional increase may be granted by the arbitrators. This additional increase, however, shall date from the time of its award and shall not be retroactive.

#### WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY, LOUIS E. KIRSTEIN

It is proper to emphasize here the great service rendered by Prof. Ripley and Mr. Kirstein to the clothing industry in Rochester. The discontent among the people had reached a point where a general strike was imminent. The Union was unable to prevent it by its own efforts because there had been no relations between it and the employers, and therefore no way of a peaceful adjustment. The two arbitrators came in the nick of time, contributed greatly toward averting a general strike, and opened the gate to mutual arrangements between the Amalgamated and the Clothiers' Exchange.

The Board appointed Prof. Meyer Jacobstein, of Rochester University, as its representative in Rochester. In the letter of appointment, Prof. Ripley outlined Prof. Jacobstein's duties as follows:

In addition to your service as local adjuster of disputes, you will also undertake a thorough-going revision of the wage scales in the different factories in Rochester, intending thereby to bring about not only a standardization as between operations and as between the different factories, but also as between Rochester and all other competing markets.

Until then the phrase "collective bargaining" had as much meaning in Rochester as "democracy" and "justice" in the jungle. It was simply inconceivable. It is a fact now.

There was no magic, no supernatural power. It was the natural and inevitable march of labor's progress.

While New York, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and other centers were enjoying the benefits of constitutional rule in the industry, established and maintained by their organized power, autocracy was seemingly unshaken in Rochester. The helplessness of the clothing workers in that city was in 1918 precisely what it used to be in the dark ages of the clothing industry throughout the country before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America established American and civilized conditions.

What looked on the surface like solid ice of absolute class rule only served to mislead the superficial observer, and give the advocates of autocracy a false sense of security. On the surface all was ice, solid ice, proof against change and progress. But under the surface life, real and vital, was coming into being. The trained mind of the champion of industrial democracy told him that the pent up life would ultimately break through the heavy thickness of ice that was suppressing it.

If unaided by intelligent organization, the outbreak would have been this time, as it was in the past, savagely stormy and spending its own energy in self destruction.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America undertook the task of promoting, guiding and controlling the growing undercurrent. We kept at it from the day that we unfurled our flag. We met with scant encouragement. At times our patience was taxed almost to exhaustion. Our courage was only sustained by the firm conviction in the justice of our cause and its ultimate triumph and by our determination to bring that about.

Our efforts were finally rewarded.

The people were awakened to a consciousness of their rights. The solid ice that had kept life in bondage bursts.

When that happened, our organization stood ready to lead the liberated forces into channels of construction instead of destruction, into which the storm of accumulated bitterness would have otherwise led them. The history of our industry is, unfortunately, but too full of examples of such destruction wrought by blind forces of desperation.

Rochester became a living example of the humanizing and civilizing force of a true labor organization.

Men and women who but yesterday feared to breathe freely lest it give offense to the employer or his subordinates, appeared before the Arbitrators, and, conscious of the protecting power of the Union they had just joined, faced their employers frankly, and stated their grievances clearly and unafraid. That was an inspiring sight. That was the visualization of the redemption of so many thousands of human souls. From the large and broad social point of view, is it possible to overestimate the humanely elevating value of organized labor, regardless of the immediate material benefits?

Now that Rochester workers have organized, they brought about the beginning of collective bargaining which secured a voice in determining their working conditions.

Mr. Kirstein, one of the arbitrators, though himself a large employer, on various occasions showed his entire fairness in such matters as he was called upon to participate in.

Prof. Ripley is an economist of highest standing, with a deep human interest in such industrial problems as the one he was dealing with in Rochester.

Both gentlemen were at that time representing the Government in the manufacture of Army clothing. Mr. Kirstein in the capacity of Chief of the Clothing Procurement Section; Prof. Ripley as Administrator of Labor Standards. In his official capacity, Prof. Ripley was constantly being called upon to adjust disputes between manufacturers of Army uniforms and our Organization.

As arbitrators for the Rochester market both gentlemen were acting as private citizens and not in official capacity.

From one of our weakest spots Rochester became one of our strong-holds.

It is clear, however, from the above, that the collective bargaining arrangement in Rochester was confined only to wages and that there was no real machinery provided. The beginning was made, and that meant everything in view of the former anti-Union policy of the employers. In the absence of machinery, the Union was unable to present complaints of its members for adjustment. Strikes occurred and a great deal of friction, which would have been avoided by a properly functioning machinery. Also, now that the bulk of the industry was organized and more workers were joining the Union, the responsibility of the organization was greater. When the industry was entirely unorganized the Union's principal duty was constantly to appeal to the workers to organize and improve their conditions. Now that they were organized, action became necessary. The Amalgamated is an organization of action. But a very important part of its program of action is building for the future. The Rochester organization realized that action cannot be confined to calling a strike every time workers appear with grievances; that a constructive method must be established to cope with problems as they arise without the necessity of the workers repeatedly losing time and earnings by always dealing with those problems by means of strikes. With the exception of the matter of wages, as above described, which was but an opening gate to industrial democracy, the employers refused to recognize the Union and have any relations with it. It required a tremendous amount of skill and patience on the part of those responsible for its success to guide the situation in a constructive manner. While the great strike in New York was on, all realized that the outcome in New York would to a very large extent determine the fate of the clothing industry in every market. Rochester, along with all others, watched the progress of the struggle in New York with keen interest. During all that time the work of the organization was taken care of and the ground prepared for further progress.

On January 8, a day after the inauguration of the forty-four hour week in the factories of Hart, Schaffner and Marx in Chicago was announced, our Rochester organization opened its campaign for the forty-four hour week. That brought new vigor to the young and thriving organization. On January 23, a day after New York had determined the issue for the country, the following announcement was made by the Rochester clothing manufacturers.

The clothing manufacturers of Rochester whose names appear below have decided to inaugurate the forty-four-hour work week in their factories on May 1, 1919, with a wage adjustment consistent with the change of hours:

L. Adler Brothers & Company.
August Brothers & Company.
Goodman & Suss.
Hickey-Freeman Company.
L. Holtz & Sons, Inc.
Levy Brothers' Clothing Company.
McGraw, Benjamin & Hays.
Rosenberg Brothers & Company.
Steefel, Strauss & Connor.
Stein-Bloch Company.
Weiss-Kopf Company.
Goldstein Special.
Joseph Knopf & Son.
A. Dinkelspiel Company.

This list may be incomplete owing to the absence of those whose special authority would be necessary for the inclusion of the names of their houses.

The Rochester Joint Board promptly called a meeting for February 5 at Convention Hall to celebrate the great victory. The meeting was a huge success. The workers were conscious of the fact that the announcement by the employers of the forty-four hour week was due entirely to the success of the organization. The great meeting registered its demand for the immediate establishment of the shorter working week. The following evening the Joint Board adopted resolutions for the immediate establishment of the forty-four hour week, substantial increases in pay for week and piece workers, the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining between the organized employes and the clothing manufacturers.

By that time the collective bargaining negotiations, begun the previous summer, were again resumed by our Organization and the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange. After several conferences, an agreement was concluded to go into effect April 1, which date was also substituted for May 1, as the date for the forty-four hour week to begin. The agreement provided machinery for adjustment of disputes. The question of wage increases was left open for further discussion. It was signed by the following firms, members of the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange: L. Adler Bros. & Co., August Bros. & Co., A. Dinkelspiel Co., Goodman

& Suss, Hickey-Freeman Co., Louis Holtz & Sons, Inc.; Levy Bros. Clothing Co., Benjamin & Hays, Rosenberg Bros. & Co., Steffel, Strauss & Connor, the Stein Bloch Co., Joseph Knopf & Sons, and the Weis, Knopf Co. The only large firm in the Rochester market that did not subscribe to the agreement with the Amalgamated was Michaels, Stern & Co., which was not a member of the Clothiers' Exchange. That firm later announced that the forty-four hour week would become effective on March 1.

The text of the agreement is as follows:

#### AGREEMENT

Entered into between the Clothing Exchange of Rochester, represented by Mr. Max Holtz and Mr. Samuel Weill, and The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, represented by Mr. Sidney Hillman.

### The Open Shop

1. The Union concedes and recognizes the right of the manufacturers to operate their plants on the so-called "open shop" principle.

#### Collective Bargaining

- 2. The employers recognize the right of their employees to bargain collectively. This shall carry with it the following.
  - (a) The right of employees to organize and belong to outside organizations.
  - (b) The right of the employee or group of employees to elect their own representatives, who shall in turn have the right to act as counsel for such employees, as later prescribed.

Method of Handling Grievances under this Collective Bargaining Plan

- 3. (a) Individuals or groups of workers have the right to present their complaints direct to the firm, or the firm's labor manager.
- (b) Individuals or groups may present their complaints through their representatives which may be either the group representative or shop chairman, according to the wishes of the workers directly involved.
- 3. The aggrieved workers shall have the right to call in as their spokesman a third party, who himself need not be an employee of the firm.
  - 1. Such outsider shall be permitted to enter into the controversy only after settlement has been attempted on the inside between the Firm and the workers (or the workers' inside representatives.)
  - 2. Where no such settlement is reached, then the workers may call in the representative who need not be an employee of the firm, at such time and such place as is agreed upon between the workers and the firm.

Where time and place cannot be agreed upon between the workers and the firm, the place shall be the arbitrator's office, and the time set, by the arbitrator, if the time cannot be agreed upon between the parties.

3. The firm has the same right to call into the conference or controversy such outsiders, under the same conditions laid down for the workers.

### ARBITRATION SCHEDULE

- 4. Both parties agree to arbitration as a mode of settling disputes. There shall be no stoppages of work because of disputes or dissatisfaction. The award of the arbitrator shall be final and binding on both parties. Procedure in arbitration shall be as follows:
  - (a) All matters which cannot be settled within the plant, as between the firm and the workers, after calling in the shop chairman or the outside representatives, or both, as heretofore provided for, shall be referred to arbitration for final adjudication.
  - (b) Either party may bring the matter to arbitration at any time within thirty days after failure to reach an agreement.
  - (c) Employers and workers have the right to be represented by their outside representatives before the arbitrator.
  - (d) The employers shall have the right to refuse employment to such of their workers who do not abide by the award of the arbitrator.
  - (e) The arbitrator shall be chosen by both parties to this agreement.
  - 5. The forty-four hour shall go into effect April 1, 1919.
- 6. The matter of wages shall be the subject of a conference before April 1st between Mr. Hillman and Mr. Holtz. In the event of a failure to agree it shall be subject to arbitration as provided in this agreement.
  - 7. This agreement shall run until May 1, 1920.

## The "Open Shop"

An interesting feature of the agreement is the fact that it provides for an "open shop." Our consent to that clause must have been a great surprise to the employers as well as to many workers. It is generally accepted that a labor organization stands for "closed shop" under all circumstances; anything short of that is considered a violation of Union principles. The "closed shop," may it incidentally be said, is a very much abused term. There is only one class of shop that is really closed and that is the one that is closed tight to Union members. It is camouflaged by the label of "open shop." And because an "open shop" is such a closed shop it is feared and hated by labor. Employers have a habit of calling a Union shop "closed shop," which is an injustice to the Union. The only Union shop that may be termed a "closed shop" is where the Union is closed, refuses to admit new members, and the jobs are monopolized even against fellow members of the Union. Such a union is a job monopoly. Where the Union is open to every worker in the industry who desires to join it and the shop is open to every member of the Union, which means to every worker in the industry, the Union shop is **not** a closed shop.

When the agreement with the "open shop" clause was submitted to the Organization for ratification, the members quickly realized that in this case the "open shop" meant a triumph for labor, for the shops that had theretofore been kept *closed* to members of the Union were officially declared open for them. The *closed* anti-Union shop was thrown open to the Union members. That was the true meaning of the clause and that was the way the membership understood it and unanimously accepted it. It is true that in itself the term "open shop" has no relish for organized workers. It is not included in Labor's preferred vocabulary. We do not wish to use it where we don't have to. But we know how to distinguish between the shadow and the substance. In this case it was nothing but a shadow. That our reasoning was correct is attested by the fact that the "open shop" Rochester market today is ninety-seven percent. Unionized.

Employers have one stereotyped argument against recognition of a labor organization: "We cannot permit outsiders to manage our affairs."

Employers and their friends almost invariably consider this objection as unanswerable and a finality. Invariably, also, they do not wish to see it answered, denouncing all such attempts on the part of the workers as "agitation," or, in the language of the day, "Bolshevism."

The inevitable result is a clash of forces. If the employers win, their "right to manage their own affairs is vindicated;" if the workers win, it means the advent of "anarchy," "chaos," "turning over the keys to them" and a great many other horrors.

The truth is that no labor organization desires to manage or to interfere in the least in the employers' affairs. We do not presume to dictate or even suggest to the employer how to conduct his business. The factory is his and the money invested in it is his. The law affords him ample protection in his proprietary rights.

The employer organizes the management of his factory and his relations with his customers in his own way. The workers may be the losers by incompetent management or the gainers by competent management, yet they will stand aside without interfering, because the law of the land, social traditions and the rules of the industrial game warn them that that is the affair of the owner of the industrial plant alone, and of no one else.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, like all other economic organizations of labor, abstains from interfering in any way with the employer's management of his affairs. As things are now, we should decline with thanks an invitation to participate lest we assume responsibility for blunders that are so frequently made by owners of plants in the exercise of their sacred rights as such owners.

But an industrial plant does not consist of a factory and machinery only. It must also have workers to carry on the industry. Those workers are human beings, flesh and blood. They are OURSELVES. In the management of this part of the industry we have a genuine and vital interest. Here we must "interfere." All industrial conflicts are due to the matter of "interference" in this end of the industry.

The premises are the employer's, the machines and the cash advanced are the employer's, but the human lives are OURS.

We spend the best part of our lives in the factories—our childhood, our youth and our early middle age—that part of our lives when the blood and heart are young, full of desire, vitality and capacity for living and enjoying. When we are permanently out of the factory it is only because we have grown old, though prematurely, and have become human wrecks, crushed in the industrial maelstrom.

In the industrially efficient period of our lives, we are confined to the factories during the bright days, having but the dark nights left for our own use, for living after the hour of work, which usually means nothing more than rest and recuperation in order to be able to work again the next day.

Being obliged to spend the best hours of each day and the best days of our natural lives in the factory and the wages we receive in that factory being our only means of sustaining ourselves and our families, it ought to be clear that we have ground for "interfering" in such matters as hours, treatment, wages and other working conditions.

If the employer has rights that should be respected in inanimate things, such as factories and machines, how, in the name of common sense, can we be denied rights that should likewise be respected in our own selves? We can sell our commodity, labor power, only by placing ourselves at the machine for a given number of hours each day. The length of the working time is therefore a very vital matter with us.

We have hearts and souls, and suffer keenly when mistreated and humiliated. The size of our wages determines whether we should live as peons or as civilized men and women, whether we should raise a generation of stunted manhood or of free citizens.

Whose affairs are those if not ours?

We do not wish to interfere in the least in the affairs of the employers, but we must interfere in our own affairs.

For decades the employers alone in the clothing industry determined hours, wages and other working conditions. We had industrial absolutism in the industry in this country as we had political despotism in various parts of the world.

Under the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the workers in the American clothing industry rose in rebellion against autocracy. What was achieved in British political life many centuries ago, the workers in the American clothing industry undertook to fight for in the twentieth century. We have finally written our own industrial Magna Charta.

In some cases long and bitter struggles were required in order to enforce the most elementary human rights of the workers. We have succeeded in establishing our right to a voice in industrial legislation. Now we are legislating for the industry—inasmuch as the interests of the workers are involved.

Better wages and shorter hours necessarily affect the balance sheets of the employers. Whenever they wish to take counsel with us, and agree to solve the industrial problems in that way, we bid them wel-

come. If they insist on considering wages, hours and working conditions their own exclusive business and no affair of the workers, we are ready to prove, by industrial war if it must be, that they are wrong.

The Rochester Clothing industry had remained longer than other clothing centers under the rule of industrial absolutism. The workers have finally organized and the employers have shown the good sense of accepting the new situation without calling for a test of strength. As a result, we now have the clothing factories in Rochester open to the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, under an agreement officially entered into by our organization and that of the employers. The Rochester clothing industry has now raised itself to the civilized plane of officially recognizing the workers' rights to protect their own interests in the factories.

Thus the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is daily bringing the clothing industry of North America ever nearer the great goal of one hundred percent. organization of the workers.

\* \* \* \* \*

The members of the Exchange engaged Labor Managers to represent them in their relations with our organization.

On September 5, 1919, Prof. William M. Leiserson was chosen by the Union and the Exchange as Impartial Chairman for the Rochester market, and the collective bargaining machinery was completed. It has functioned most successfully.

Today the Rochester employers are represented by the following Labor Managers in their relations with our organization:

Prof. Meyer Jacobstein for Stein-Bloch Company Dr. N. I. Stone for Hickey-Freeman Company Leroy E. Snyder for Rosenberg Brothers & Company S. Park Harmon for L. Adler Brothers & Company Peter J. Van Geyt for the other fifteen members of the Clothiers' Exchange.

### One Firm in Rochester Battling for Industrial Autocracy

As already stated, the Rochester agreement included all clothing manufacturing firms in that city except one—Michaels, Stern & Co. This firm was too strongly attached to the institution and traditions of industrial autocracy to raise itself to the new and higher general level of the industry. As for it, the bloody battles to make the world safe for democracy were fought in vain. For that firm the world after the war was the same as before the war. That firm had fought organized labor in the past and was determined to continue fighting it. Practically all other employers had fought labor in the past and sought to keep it from organizing, but when labor won out they realized that a change had come into the world and the industry and accepted it. Not so Michaels, Stern & Co. These employers set their faces, with their eyes shut, sternly against all progress. Workers must not be permitted to organize. Employers must not concede rights to workers. The time

honored institutions of autocracy for the employers and serfdom for the workers must be maintained and defended against all owners. This attitude of the firm inevitably led to a bitter struggle.

It was impossible for the employes of that firm to remain outside of the organization while almost the entire market was organized. the workers were beginning to join the Union, the firm got ready for action. Taking the bull by the horns the firm took a vote, by ballots, of the workers in the cutting and trimming departments to find out how many of them wished to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Seventy voted in the affirmative and twelve in the negative. saw the situation clearly. The danger was great and no time was to be lost in meeting it. The old and tried spy system was put into opera-Through that despicable system the firm discovered that Miss Messina, one of the workers, had joined the Union and that she had a list of names of other workers who had joined or were ready to join. The firm was anxious to secure that list. A messenger called at the house of Miss Messina and asked for the list, claiming that Miss Messina needed it but was unable to come herself. The list did not materialize and Miss Messina was discharged. The firm was determined to stamp out the spirit of organization among the workers by discharging them. In that way the firm forced a strike upon its employes. The struggle began July 25, 1919.

A campaign of malicious slander was opened by the firm in the public press. The cry was, of course, "Americanism versus Bolshevism." "Americanism" in this case served as a shield for exploitation of labor and "Bolshevism" was a means of discrediting the efforts of the workers to organize. The very same people who had been perfectly good American citizens during all the years they had worked for Michaels, Stern & Co., when they were unorganized, became "un-American," "aliens," "seditionists who should be deported," "enemies of the American government and institutions," the moment they organized. They are peaceful and law-abiding citizens if working for a firm that has an agreement with the Amalgamated, but "dangerous persons" if working for Michaels, Stern & Co., and having Union cards in their pockets.

No sooner did the strike begin than the inevitable scab agency, the United Garment Workers of America, appeared on the scene. There was hardly a city where that scab agency did not volunteer its strike-breaking services to the employers when our members were on strike. Those veteran strikebreakers entered into an "agreement" with Michaels, Stern & Co., though none of its members worked for that firm. It also added its ugly shrill to the firm's cry of "sedition" and "Bolshevism" against the striking workers and their Union. The fact of the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co. signing an "agreement" with the United Garment Workers must have been exceedingly funny for those who were familiar with the firm's anti-labor record. It prompted General Organizer Gustave Strebel to issue the following statement:

We view with amazement as well as amusement the role essayed by Michaels, Stern & Co., in going into the field as labor organizers. For years Michaels, Stern & Co., has been recognized as the bitter opponent of organized labor and especially the

United Garment Workers. Four years ago this firm issued an ultimatum to their employes that any cutter found with a United Garment Workers' card would be summarily discharged. Some forty cutters were compelled to withdraw from the United.

The United was abandoned to its fate and it was not until the Amalgamated came into the field here that, for the first time in fifteen years, a live Union of tailors came into existence, bringing conditions of employment and wages never before realized by tailors of Rochester.

Now that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has succeeded in organizing between 6000 and 7000 garment workers in Rochester, and also has succeeded in tying up Michaels, Stern & Co., in order to carry on their policy of antagonism to organized labor that firm turns to the ghost of what was recognized as a Union—the United—and brings an organization here to act as a strike-breaking agency, the only result of which will be to serve the ends of the employers.

Strebel ended by saying that Holland had been brought here "to act as godfather to this illegitimate child (the United)."

The "Holland" mentioned by Strebel is James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor. He came to Rochester to lend his authority to the strikebreaking activities of the United Garment Workers—and the "sedition" and "un-American" cry of the Michaels, Stern & Co.

In this connection it will be interesting to note that during the war a pamphlet, entitled "Labor and the War," was issued by the Labor Bureau, Liberty Loan Committee, Second Federal Reserve District, 39 Liberty Street, New York City. On Page 10 of that pamphlet the "Un-American" Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its members are credited with the purchase of Liberty Bonds (of the first, second and third issues, in the Second District) for the amount of \$2,738,750. On the same page the "American" United Garment Workers is credited with the amount of \$57,750. The committee by whose authority that pamphlet was issued is headed by the selfsame James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, who joined the crusade against our organization in the interests of Michaels, Stern & Co.

For the purpose of making its "agreement" with the scab agency real, the firm organized a "local Union" for that agency, composed of a few persons who had betrayed their fellow workers, and called it an "American Union."

The Rochester Joint Board took up the firm's challenge with vigor, all members contributing to the strike fund.

As the struggle continued, the General Office sent out the following call for aid:

September 19, 1919.

To the Joint Boards, District Councils and Local Unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Greeting: \_\_

We are again compelled to ask you for financial assistance for our fighting fellow members. This time, our sisters and brothers in Rochester and Utica are on the firing line. Rochester, as you know, had been unorganized until recently. Several months ago, when the members of the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange realized that we have succeeded in organizing the clothing workers, they entered into an agreement with our organization, without first forcing upon us a bitter and costly struggle, as the employers in other places had done. That spared our membership a great deal of hardship.

One firm, however, remained outside of those arrangements. That was the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co. The clothing workers have always been fought in the past by that firm. When the firm realized that its employees in spite of its efforts to the contrary, have all joined our organization, it precipitated a strike, which began about two months ago.

The notorious scab agency in the clothing industry, sailing under the name of U. G. W. of A., promptly came to the assistance of the firm. Firm and Scab Agency, in order to conceal the real issue, viz., the right of the workers to organize, maliciously raised the false and misleading issue of racial antagonism.

As stated above, the struggle has been on for nearly two months. About fifteen hundred people are involved. It is a very costly strike, as a strike under such circumstances, and under the present high priced conditions must be. This office has already contributed many thousands of dollars, but very much more must still be contributed. The local members are paying regular assessments for the strike purposes, but the expenses are much above the income. The strike must be kept up, under all circumstances, until it is won by us.

In Utica, N. Y., the clothing workers began to organize recently. When they applied to us for assistance we sent organizers to them. But there the Chamber of Commerce, the employers, the official labor movement, the city administration, the press and others, combined against us. So brutal and uncivilized is their fight to prevent the clothing workers from organizing, that they forbade President Hillman to land in Utica when he came to address a mass meeting, and ordered our General Organizers from the city. Utica looked more like a city of the Czar's Russia than of Free and Democratic America.

It became our duty not only to fight for improvements of the economic conditions of the clothing workers, but also for the vindication of the most fundamental American rights. As a result, our organizers are now back in Utica and unmolested.

Provoked by the high-handed and Czaristic acts of the Utica authorities in expelling our representatives, the clothing workers went out on strike while we were unable to guide or advise them.

The battle is now on. About six hundred people are involved. They are fighting with empty stomachs and empty pockets against a powerful enemy. Whatever little savings they had were deposited with the courts as bail in the numerous arrest cases. The grocers and other dealers were compelled, under pressure, to deny credit to the strikers, which they would have otherwise extended to them. As a result, we must contribute thousands of dollars also for these struggling men and women. It is for the support of these brave workers in Rochester and Utica that we ask you to contribute liberally and quickly. Act at once! Send contributions to the undersigned.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The Utica strike will be discussed presently.

When the strike began and as it progressed the firm made the usual claim of having sufficient help and that the strike was a failure. But, in spite of that, and in spite also of the United Garment Workers' efforts to secure scabs, the Company was unable to run its factory. It could

get no workers outside of the Amalgamated ranks. The Company then followed the old road of the injunction. This gattling gun on paper at least serves to satisfy the vindictiveness of a vicious employer even if it does not produce garments. An injunction is usually secured without much difficulty, as a temporary injunction is frequently issued ex parte—that is, on the application of the employer, and without notice to or hearing of the workers. Thus, while an injunction may or may not help to break a strike, it does endanger the liberty of all active persons involved in the strike. Frequently the leaders of a strike are thrown into jail on mere technicalities. An injunction against a labor organization involved in a strike often imposes such hardships on it as to paralyze the strike machinery.

An injunction may forbid the payment of strike benefits and even peaceful picketing, which is otherwise allowed by law. Wherever such injunctions are issued, the labor organization affected is seriously handicapped, however strong the solidarity of the workers. It is upon this advantage that a hostile employer is banking when he asks for an injunction. A temporary injunction is usually followed by a hearing at which the union must show cause why the injunction should not be made permanent. Whenever such a hearing is delayed, sufficient damage is done by the temporary injunction, which is granted without a hearing, to make the denial of a permanent injunction valueless.

In the hope of paralyzing the strike Michaels, Stern & Co. applied to the court for an injunction. It was granted by Justice Stephens, September 29, 1919.

We applied for a modification of the injunction order. On February 5, 1920, Justice Adolph J. Rodenbeck, of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, granted a modification.

Herewith is Judge Rodenbeck's decision, which contains also the original injunction:

SUPREME COURT: MONROE COUNTY

Joseph Michaels and others, Plaintiffs

VS.

Sidney Hillman, individually and as president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, et al., Defendants.

Motion at Monroe Special Term, Dec. 27, 1919, to vacate or modify injunction pendente lite. O'Brien & Powell (George A. Benton, of counsel), of Rochester, N. Y., for the motion. Sutherland & Dwyer, of Rochester, N. Y., opposed.

The plaintiffs are clothing manufacturers at Rochester, N. Y., and the defendants are an organization of clothing workers and members thereof. The plaintiffs beside manufacturing clothing in their own factories let out work to contractors and others working in their own shops or homes. A strike was declared against the plaintiffs by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the employees of plaintiffs organized themselves into a local under the United Garment Workers of America which is associated with the American Federation of Labor. The acts and conduct sought to be restrained grew out of the relation of the parties and others in connection with

the prosecution of the strike. A temporary injunction against certain acts and conduct of the defendants was issued in connection with the action and the present motion is one to vacate or modify this injunction order.

The following are the provisions of the temporary injunction:

"ORDERED, that the defendants and such and every one of them, and each and all the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and their agents, deputies, organizers, representatives, and coadjutors, and all other persons, be and they are and each of them is hereby enjoined, restrained, and forbidden during the pendency of this action and until the further order of this court, and under the penalties of law for such a case made and provided, from assaulting, menacing, molesting, threatening, intimidating, or annoying by offensive acts or language, the employees of the plaintiffs, or any of them, and interfering by threats or intimidation or other similar means with the employees of the plaintiffs or any persons who may become employees of the plaintiffs or who may seek employment from them, and are restrained and forbidden from doing any other act or thing for the purpose of preventing any person or persons who are or who may hereafter be in plaintiffs' employment from continuing therein, or for the purpose of preventing or interfering with others entering said employ.

"And the defendants and the members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and their servants, agents and representatives, and all other persons are hereby enjoined, restrained and forbidden, under the penalties of the law aforesaid, from parading or marching, in masses, companies bands or collective numbers, back and forth in front of and adjacent to the factories of the plaintiffs, or any of them, and from loitering or collecting, in bands or companies, at the entrances to said factories, or the streets adjacent thereto, or at the car stop points in the streets in proximity to the said factories where the employees of said factories embark upon the street cars, or disembark therefrom on their way from or to said factories, or any of them, and from interfering in any way with the free passage of the employees of the plaintiffs or in any manner obstructing the said employees upon the streets or any public places, or annoying them or threatening them, in their places of employment, or in their homes, or in any way or place.

"Said defendants and members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, their representatives, agents, attorneys and servants, are enjoined, restrained and forbidden from calling said employees of the plaintiffs, or any of them, scabs or other opprobrious names, and from printing, publishing or otherwise disseminating statements to the effect that the plaintiffs or their employees are opposed to organized labor, or are opposed by any labor organization other than said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"And all of said defendants and the members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and their servants, agents, deputies, representatives and coadjutors are, and each of them is hereby enjoined, restrained, and forbidden from interfering with or injuring, in any way, the business, property, or contracts of the plaintiffs, and from preventing or attempting to prevent contractors or other persons from doing or finishing work under contracts or business arrangements existing between them and the plaintiffs, and from making any threats of violence or injury or harm of any kind, or doing any other act or thing to annoy, threaten, or intimidate any person, firm, corporation or association doing business with the plaintiffs.

"And the said defendants and all the members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, their agents, representatives, and coadjutors are and each of them is enjoined, restrained and forbidden from endeavoring to per-

suade the employees of the plaintiffs to violate or cause the abrogation or violation of the working contract between the plaintiffs and the United Garment Workers of America, and from doing any act or thing intended or designed to prevent the persons employed by the plaintiffs from carrying on their lawful trades and occupations as such employees, or to prevent persons, firms or corporations having contractual relations with the plaintiffs from carrying out their obligations thereunder.

"And the defendants and all the members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are forbidden and enjoined from conspiring together to do any of the acts and things hereby forbidden, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, their officer and agents are hereby enjoined and forbidden from compelling by the use of the authority or disciplinary powers and processes of said organization called the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America or of its officers, local unions or subordinate organizations, any of the members of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to do or attempt any of the acts or things hereby forbidden."

RODENBECK J .: - The only clause in the injunction order which is open to misconstruction and which should be clarified by a modification, is the fourth paragraph wherein the order restrains the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its servants, agents, deputies, representatives and coadjutors from interfering with or injuring "in any way" the business, property or contracts of the plaintiffs. The language quoted should be amended by striking out "in any way" and substituting in their places the words "by any of the acts or things herein restrained" and by inserting the words "from preventing or attempting to prevent" in the same paragraph the words "by any of the acts or things herein restrained." The paragraph as it now stands forbids lawful acts of the association and its representatives which may interfere with or injure the plaintiffs and yet there is no doubt of the right of the former employees of the plaintiffs to strike for the purpose of improving their condition and of their organization to exercise its legal functions to make the strike a success. The vice of the language used in this paragraph is similar to that which occurred in the order in the case of National Protective Association v. Cumming, 170 N. Y. 315,349, and Wycoff Amusement Co., Inc., v. Kaplan, 170 N. Y. S. 548. The remainder of the order contains no unreasonable or illegal restraints upon the defendants under the circumstances revealed by the affidavits. It can not be contended that they should not be restrained from "assaulting, menacing, molesting, threatening, intimidating or annoying by offensive acts or language" the actual or prospective employees of the plaintiffs as provided in the first paragraph or elsewhere in the order. Threats, intimidation, coercion and violence in these cases have always been restrained. The defendants may probably be restrained from doing any act or thing for the "purpose" of preventing any person from continuing in the employ of the plaintiffs or from entering their employ as contained in the first paragraph. The members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers may resort to legal means for the purpose of improving their condition but they can not combine or act for the purpose of injuring someone else. One of the things aimed at in this part of the paragraph is the design or purpose to injure the plaintiffs which may be restrained. (Curran v. Calen, 152 N. Y. 33; Mills v. U. S. Printing Co., 99 A. D. 605; Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchell, 245 U. S. 229; Auburn Draying Co. v. Warden, 227 N. Y. 1; Davis Machine Co. v. Robinson, 41 Misc. 329; Penal L. Sec. 580, subd. 5). The defendants may properly be restrained under the facts presented by the affidavits from "loitering or collecting in bands or companies" at the entrance of plaintiffs' factories or on the streets adjacent thereto or at car stops where the employees of the plaintiffs seek transportation and also from interfering in any way with the "free passage" of the employees of the plaintiffs as contained in the second paragraph. This paragraph does not seek to restrain the defendants except as specified and acts which do not come

within the language of the paragraph are not forbidden. (Mills v. U. S. Printing Co., supra.) The acts sought to be prohibited by this paragraph as described in the affidavits might have been restrained as a breach of the public peace (Penal Law, Secs. 32,2092). The assemblage of the defendants and their sympathizers as described in the affidavits constitutes implied threats, intimidation or coercion sufficient to justify a restraining order. This order is directed not against lawful acts but against a loitering, collecting, parading and marching in such bands, companies or collective numbers described in the complaint and affidavits as constitute coercive measures and which were evidently so designed. The defendants may properly be restrained from calling plaintiffs' employees "scabs" or other "opprobrious names" and from publishing any statement that the plaintiffs or their employees are opposed to organized labor or are opposed by any labor organization other than the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as provided in paragraph three. The use of abusive, offensive or indecent language toward those who seek to supply the places of the strikers is an improper method of prosecuting a strike, tends to a breach of the peace and will be restrained. The defendants should also be restrained from publishing any false statements in relation to plaintiffs' attitude toward organized labor or any other statements that are untrue. The defendants may be restrained from endeavoring to "persuade" plaintiffs' employees to violate or to cause the abrogation or violation of the working contract between the plaintiffs and the United Garment Workers of America (Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchell, supra; Third Ave. Ry. Co. v. Shea, 109 Misc. 18.) and from doing any act or thing "intended or designed" to prevent plaintiffs' employees from carrying on their lawful trades and occupations or the obligations of any persons under contracts made with the plaintiffs as provided in paragraph five. While the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its representatives may pursue any lawful means to improve the condition of its members (Bossert v. Dhuy, 221 N. Y. 342; National Protective Assn. v. Cumming, supra.), this right does not extend to active efforts designed to induce plaintiffs' employees to a breach of the contract referred to or to any act or thing "intended or designed" to interfere with the rights of others (Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchell, supra.) A strike may be lawful or unlawful according to the design or purpose which actuated it and likewise picketing and boycotting may be legal or illegal according to the methods pursued (Hitchman Coal & Coke Co. v. Mitchell, supra; Mills v. U. S. Printing Co., supra.) Finally the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and its representatives may be enjoined from "conspiring" to do any of the acts forbidden by the injunction order and from using its authority or disciplinary powers to compel the performance of the acts or things forbidden as provided in the last paragraph. Bossert v. Dhuy, supra; Penal L. Sec. 580, subd. 5). A temporary injunction will not be vacated upon affidavits where the acts enjoined are illegal and tend to a breach of the public peace although the alleged facts upon which the injunction is based are substantially denied by the opposing affidavits. The order does not by implications prohibit any acts which the law recognizes may be done by the defendants in seeking a successful issue of their differences with the plaintiffs and on the other hand there is no implication that acts and conduct outside the limits of the order are necessarily lawful. Their legality or illegality depends upon the purposes or design with which they are prosecuted and the methods employed in carrying them into effect. Paragraph five of the temporary injunction should be modified as above provided and otherwise the order should be continued until the further direction of the court.

Dated Feb. 5, 1920.

So ordered,
A. J. RODENBECK, Justice, Supreme Court.

At the time the injunction was granted, Michaels, Stern & Co. brought suit against us for damages to the amount of One Hundred Thousand Dollars. If that means anything at all, it is an acknowledgement of the effectiveness of the strike caused by the firm's refusal to permit its employees to organize.

All enemies of labor rushed to the rescue of Michaels, Stern & Co. The United Garment Workers and James P. Holland, President of the State Federation of Labor, brought them aid. Help came also from still another source.

The State of New York has been cursed with a Committee on Inquisition, commonly known as "The Lusk Committee." The particular mission of this committee is witch burning. It made it its business to discover sedition where there is none and is diligently spending the State's money by raising the spectre of "Bolshevism." That committee has done more to discredit organized government and inflame the minds of the people than thousands of anti-government agitators ever could hope to do. Its most barbaric method is its star chamber proceeding. A person or an institution is publicly denounced in the most outrageous manner without an opportunity for a fair hearing. The activities of the Lusk Committee are an insult and an injury to the people of the State. It is almost inconceivable for the Empire State of this great Republic to have resuscitated in this enlightened day such a relic of barbarism. The Lusk Committee is proceeding on the assumption that every person is a Seditionist who is not proven not to be one. Illegal and brutal raids were made by the Committee. Persons were arrested and a general reign of terror was inaugurated in violation of all constitutional guarantees, democratic traditions and common decency.

While the action for One Hundred Thousand Dollars by Michaels, Stern & Co. against our organization was pending, and the date of trial drawing near, the Lusk Committee came to Rochester to "investigate" the Amalgamated. The Committee made a vicious and scandalous attack upon our organization.

The Lusk Committee apparently got its advice and information from the firm and the scab agency, the two sources from which emanated all other attacks against us. The poison emitted by the Lusk Committee was identical with that of Michaels, Stern & Co. and its "labor lieutenants," the United Garment Workers. The Committee's brutal slanders were supported in the press by the Michaels-Stern firm and its scab agency.

No representatives of our organization were called by the Lusk Committee. It did not want testimony favorable to us. The malice with which the Committee, in its official capacity, sent its daggers of slander, libel and deliberate lies against us is sufficient indication of the "square deal" given by them to all other victims. Prof. William L. Leiserson, Impartial Chairman of the clothing industry in Rochester, offered to appear before the Lusk Committee and tell them what he knew about the organization. The Committee refused to hear or see him. They were sincerely afraid of the truth. Prof. Leiserson then addressed a letter to Senator Clayton A. Lusk, Chairman of the heresy hunting committee, and gave copies of it to the press. He also sent a copy to Governor Smith. The letter appeared in the Rochester papers of January 1, 1920, and reads as follows:

Why did you permit ignorant and incompetent investigators to make your committee ridiculous in the eyes of the people of Rochester? Every intelligent person who read the testimony of the investigators is laughing at your gullibleness. Instead of promoting Americanism your hearings in this city have promoted contempt for an

agency of the state government. Somebody with an axe to grind put one over on your committee.

Your investigators testified that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is a "syndicalist organization, the object of which is to take over the industries for the workers without compensation to the owners." Then came the great "revelation" that there were ten thousand members of that organization in Rochester and that they had signed up with the owners of every clothing factory but one. Read your testimony:

Chairman: "Are there any syndicalist organizations here?"

Mr. Finch: "There is one very strong one, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It has signed up, I understand, all the clothing industries in Rochester except the Michaels-Stern plant."

This is indeed a revelation—a syndicalist organization that gets employers to sign agreements turning over their industries to the workers without compensation to the owners!

Can you wonder that people laugh at such rot? If your investigators had any brains at all they would know that syndicalist and I. W. W. unions don't sign agreements. They don't believe in them. And the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has the most successful of all signed agreements made by labor unions in this country.

A firm with autocratic labor policies and a clique of incompetent labor leaders who have been defeated by the efficient labor union policies of the Amalgamated used your committee to get back at the Amalgamated. And your committee as well as your investigators fell for it.

It is common knowledge in Rochester that the Amalgamated agreements with the clothing manufacturers are openshop agreements, while the agreements of American Federation of Labor unions in this city are closed shop agreements. Much was made of the charge that no American who refused to subscribe to Amalgamated principles could get work in clothing factories. As a matter of fact any one may get work in these factories whether a member of the union or not, whereas no printer or brick-layer can get a job except he be a member of the union.

The idea of industrial unionism also proved a bugaboo to your investigators. Don't they know and don't you know that the mine workers' union, the street railway men's unions, the brewery workers, the ladies' garment workers, the United textile workers, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are industrial unions? At the last convention of the A. F. of L. the Mule Spinners' Union was expelled because it refused to join the industrial union of the textile workers.

Your investigators and your committee ought to be informed on elementary facts like these about labor organizations before you presume to pass judgment on the policies of the organizations. Because you didn't inform yourselves you are now the laughing stock of the city. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers was not injured by this unfair and un-American attack made upon it. But the State of New York and the City of Rochester have been injured by the incompetence of your committee and its investigators. For you have made more Bolshevists than the government can ever deport.

The clothing manufacturers of Rochester in agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have made strikes illegal in their industry and have set up permanent adjustment and arbitration machinery for all disputes. This is what President Wilson and Governor Smith have tried to do, but up to the present have failed.

By attacking this machinery you have committed an act of sabotage compared to which the sabotage of the I. W. W. is insignificant. For you have made it appear that the state government does not want agreements made for amicable adjustment and judicial arbitration of disputes in the clothing industry. Instead, it seems that your committee is trying to do its best to stir up the ten thousand employees against their employers.

The Lusk Committee's slanders were given the widest publicity by the newspapers as they made excellent "copy." Anything about the Amalgamated is good "copy."

### Forbidding Strikes by Legislation

The Lusk Committee's attack was made at the close of the year 1919. The enemies of our organization chuckled with glee at their success in sending their poison through the newspapers into the minds of the readers. But in time the effects were bound to wear off. A new dose of poison was necessary. That was administered on March 10, about a month before the date set for the trial, at a meeting in Convention Hall.

The speaker at that meeting said "The Amalgamated is a treasonable organization, and, unfortunately, we men who buy ready-made clothing are forced to pay tribute to it. But there will soon be a movement to put a stop to it. As soon as they get through in Albany something will be started, and I may as well warn you of it. There will soon be a movement started for some sort of legislation that will protect the American public who buy clothing from having to pay the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for Bolshevist propaganda."

Later the speaker repeated his slander of the Amalgamated in Baltimore and probably in other cities.

The slander was significant only because of the threat that went with it. The individual who uttered it cannot be taken seriously. His is a case of the bark being worse than his bite. But the warning could not be ignored, for the reason that people of his type repeat parrotlike what they hear others say. The speaker's threat of legislation against the Amalgamated meant that he had heard people "higher up" speak of legislation against the labor movement, for it was not likely that any individual organization would be officially singled out for destruction by legislation. With the desperate reactionaries anything was possible. The bill then pending to make the people's education illegal was clearly the forerunner of many worse bills coming. We were prepared for the worst. We did not have to wait long. Shortly after the above threat several bills were introduced in the Assembly at Albany forbidding strikes and practically outlawing Unions in several industries including specifically "the manufacture of clothing."

Fortunately the Legislature adjourned late in April without an opportunity to pass the bills. They may be revived and passed by the next Legislature if the Labor Movement remains apathetic.

In connection with the above bills, the following article by the well known investigator and writer, John A. Fitch, which appeared in Advance, will be of interest; also an editorial from Advance on the same subject.

## BOSSES PLAN TO OUTLAW STRIKES IN NEW YORK STATE

## By John A. Fitch

There are two bills before the Legislature at Albany at the present time providing for compulsory arbitration. One is Assembly Bill No. 661, Introductory No. 787, introduced by Assemblyman Evans of the Bronx. This bill declares that "The preparation or manufacture of food products, the production and sale of coal and fuel, and the transportation and distribution of all such food products and coal and fuel, is affected with a public interest." It "is a matter of public policy in order to protect the public health, preserve the public peace, and promote and protect the living conditions of the people of this state" that there should be no strike in these industries. The bill then provides for a commission to be known as the State Arbitration Commission for Industrial Disputes.

The commission is to consist of five members to be appointed by the governor, each for a term of three years. The qualifications for membership on this commission are not stated. The salary is \$15,000 a year. The commission may take charge of the situation whenever controversy arises in the industries named and may make an investigation of the situation. It is given all power necessary for ascertaining the facts in such a controversy and when investigation is complete it is to make its findings. Section 5 reads in part: "The commission may order such changes to be made in the conduct of any industry or business subject to its investigation and in the matter of working conditions, hours of labor and rates of wages, as it deems necessary to carry out the terms of its findings and orders." This is to continue in effect for a time fixed by the commission.

If either party refuses to obey the order the commission is to institute proceedings in the Supreme Court and compel obedience. Violation of the act involves a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment not over one year, or both.

The more important bill is Senate No. 637, Introductory No. 790, introduced by Senator Knight. This bill is a verbatim copy, including even grammatical errors, of the Kansas Industrial Court Law which went into effect six weeks ago, modified in a few particulars to conform with the situation in New York. This bill has the following features:

- 1. It creates a Court of Industrial Relations to be composed of three "judges" appointed by the governor and to serve for a term of three years.
- 2. Jurisdiction of court: The following industries are declared to be affected with a public interest; (a) the manufacture or production or handling of food products; (b) the manufacture of clothing; (c) the mining or production of any substance or material in common use as fuel; (d) any manufacture involving the production, operation or handling of iron and wood products intended to be used for the erection, equipment, maintenance or repair of dwellings or factories for the use of public utilities or common carriers; (e) the transportation of the goods mentioned in the preceding section.

In these industries, it is made unlawful for the management to shut them down without permission of the Court of Industrial Relations and for the workmen to strike under any circumstances.

3. Penalties: A "person" violating the law, \$1,000 fine or one year in the penitentiary, or both. An officer of a corporation or a union violating the law, \$5,000 fine or two years in the penitentiary, or both.

- 4. Procedure of the court: On its own initiative or on the request of either party to the dispute, or on the request of ten citizens of the neighborhood, or on the request of the attorney-general of the state, the court may investigate any industrial dispute in the industries named. It may issue a temporary award at the beginning of the investigation and when it has completed a final reward fixing the terms of employment. All decisions affecting wages are to be retroactive to the time at which the investigation began. If the wage is increased the workers are entitled to back pay. If the wage is decreased the employer is entitled to recover in court the amount he has paid the workers since the beginning of the investigation in excess of the wage fixed by the court. In the conduct of these investigations the court is to be governed by the rules of evidence. This will very rigidly limit the testimony that can be introduced and will make impossible what might be called common sense investigation.
- 5. Protective features: Wages and profits are to be "reasonable and just." They must be such, however, as will enable the industries in question "to continue with reasonable efficiency to produce or transport their products or continue their operation and thus promote the general welfare." No worker is to be discharged on account of any testimony that he has given before the court, and no employer is to be subject to boycott or other means of discrimination because of any action he has instituted in court, or because of anything done under order of the court. Either party considering itself agrieved by the order of the Court of Industrial Relations may appeal to the Supreme Court.
- 6. Union relations: This is Section 132 and it contains some very peculiar regulations. It is apparently designed to compel unions to incorporate. It provides that any union which does incorporate shall be recognized by the Court of Industrial Relations as a "legal entity" and may appear before the court "through and by its proper officers, attorneys or other representatives." Unincorporated unions as well as those incorporated have the right of collective bargaining, but if unincorporated unions wish to avail themselves of this right individual members must appoint in writing some officer or other person or persons "as their agents or trustees with authority to enter into such collective bargainings and to represent each and every (one) of said individuals in all matters relating thereto."

While this seems to grant the right of collective bargaining, Section 127 provides that if the Court of Industrial Relations finds the agreement thus entered into to be "unfair, unjust or unreasonable" it may modify the conditions of the agreement as it sees fit.

### 7. Comments on the above:

- (a) There is nowhere in the bill any definition of the qualifications of the judges. The court may be made up of three bankers, three employers or three horse doctors.
- (b) Limited as the court is by the rules of evidence, a common sense inquiry seems to be impossible. Under the rules of evidence a witness is not permitted to give heresay testimony. While this is an important restriction for the protection of a man accused of crime, it will not assist in understanding the details of a complicated industrial situation. It is very difficult to see how the rules of evidence could be

applied to such an investigation as the court must carry on, but if they were so applied it is obvious that the investigation would be restricted, legalistic and largely futile.

- (c) The law sets no time within which the court is to make its finding, nor is the period within which the award is to run limited. The only way, therefore, by which a revision of the award within a reasonable length of time could be forced would apparently be through the staging of a new controversy in order that the court might again be brought into the situation and be obliged to make a new award. The law therefore may serve to make inevitable that very unrest that it is designed to cure.
- (d) The section requiring an award to be retroactive is absurd and impracticable so far as it relates to the employes paying back to their employer the excess of wages received in the case of an award depressing their wages. There is no likelihood that the previous wage paid would be in general high enough to allow the accumulation of the excess either in the form of savings or of property. In other words the money would have been spent. The collection of these sums by the employer would be highly improbable. However, the existence of this provision in the law will probably be the source of a great deal of trouble. It could undoubtedly be used in the form of persecution, whether its use for any other purpose would be practicable or not.
- (e) Section 132 on the subject of collective bargaining contains a number of dangerous provisions. Whatever may be the meaning of this section it is capable of being interpreted so that no unincorporated union could appear before the Court of Industrial Relations and thus tend to force unions to incorporate. It seems doubtful whether its limitations on the right to collective bargaining, so far as the act of bargaining is concerned, would have any effect. However, the provision that every individual member of an unincorporated union must designate in writing some individual as his spokesman before collective bargaining can be entered into may set up great difficulties in the way of such collective bargaining. This whole section is extremely vicious and if it were enacted into law would undoubtedly be used to hamper the activities of unions, and might possibly result in their complete undoing.
- (f) The protection the bill seems to throw about the workers is of very doubtful value. In asserting that the wage rate must be just and reasonable the bill does no more than reiterate what the most reactionary member of the community would admit. There are no standards as a basis for determining justice and reasonableness in the matter of wages. It is certain that the judgment of a court on this question would be extremely conservative judgment. In leaving it to the court to determine this matter it is conceivable that the bill, if enacted into law would set up a serious and permanent bar to the progress of the wage earners towards a higher status.

There is an assumed protection in the provision that a workman cannot be discharged on account of his testimony before the court. It is well known that laws prohibiting the right to discharge because a man is a member of a union have been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. There is no reason to believe that this provision would have any better standing in court. But even if it did, it is

a protection that amounts to very little. The important thing is that the right to strike is taken away and the corresponding right of the employer to discharge whom he will with this one minor exception is left The employer then could undermine an organization by discharging its leaders, by discharging every independently minded employe and have the full protection of the Court of Industrial Relations in so doing. He could by this action so intimidate his employes that they would not appeal to the court for protection against low wages and long hours, nor testify against their employer if someone else made the appeal for them. If this bill is enacted into law a strike will become impossible in many of the most important industries of the state. It will tie the hands of the workers and put a complete stop in those industries to any active effort towards any fundamental improvement of their condition. No more dangerous proposition has been made by this or any other legislature within recent times, if ever. The Labor Party and every other organization in a position to make a stand in this matter should register their immediate protest and do everything in their power to make known the viciousness of this bill.

### (Editorial)

### The Juggernaut at Work

Juggernaut was the name of a Hindu idol. On the principal annual festival, that idol was taken out in a huge car; people threw themselves under that car and were crushed by it. Today the juggernaut stands for a huge monster, constantly reaching out for victims to be crushed. This monster has been very active of late and is just now particularly busy at Albany creating new crimes. While bills, copied from the Czar's code, making people's education a crime, are still pending before the legislature, new bills are introduced making strikes a crime.

We are moving very fast. A year ago Assemblymen Solomon and Claessens, who are today suspended because of their loyalty to labor, introduced bills for the protection of strikes; today there are bills making strikes illegal. Solomon's bill required an employer, in whose establishment a strike or lockout was in progress, to state that fact when advertising for help; Claessens' bill forbade the use of armed men by employers against strikers. Such were the "strike bills" before the legislature a year ago. True, those bills were introduced by Socialist assemblymen and were not expected to be passed by an anti-labor body of law makers. But no labor hating legislator dared then to discard his "friend of labor" mask and expose his naked enemy-of-labor face so brazenly as they do today. Until recently, every politician was a "friend of the workingman." Anti-labor bills were so drafted as to mislead the On the surface, they all looked innocent, perhaps beneficial Sometimes "labor bills" would be introduced in order to please the workers. In most cases those bills would remain buried in the graveyard of the ruthless committees. In some cases the teeth would be removed from the bills before they became laws; in others, where neither of those two courses could be followed, the bills were passed in good condition, trusting to a practical administration to leave them unenforced or to a wise judge to declare them unconstitutional. The primary thought in the legislator's mind, when confronted by "labor bills,"

was to place himself on record as a friend of labor.

Times have changed. Now bills are openly presented making strikes a crime and punishable by imprisonment. There is every likelihood of the bills being passed unless the labor movement raises immediately such a storm of protest as to make the politicians tremble. If the Governor signs the bills, which he will if his party is behind them, the entire labor movement will become an illegal conspiracy, and every member of a Union a conspirator and a criminal.

There is but one step from that to disfranchising all workers politically. Then the electorate and the legislature will be one happy family of industrial autocrats.

One can hear a voice say: "That can't be done." The answer is that if strikes can be made illegal and the representation of workers, through their spokesman impossible under the law, anything else can be done. If industrial disfranchisement is possible, political disfranchisement will be more possible. The average worker does not take his political rights as seriously as he does his industrial rights, because he can visualize the latter only as closely related to his daily ration of bread and butter.

There is a more sinister purpose behind the anti-strike bills than the making of strikes a crime. The vicious elements behind the scheme know that the law will not be popular. Good citizenship or bad citizenship, the workers will resist that law. If they cannot strike legally, they will strike illegally. They will do so not in a spirit of lawlessness, but in obedience to the irresistible force of self-preservation, which includes also the force of indignant opposition to a crying injustice. It is too late now to abolish strikes by laws. It is too late today to expect the labor movement meekly to accept the smashing blow. The labor movement has grown too big for that. But here is where the effectiveness of the nefarious scheme will assert itself. The labor movement will be filled with bitterness, which will be fed and increased by persecution, unless the law is allowed to remain a dead letter, which is inconceivable. That will create a fertile field for spies and provocateurs.

The tragedy of the Molly Maguires, the Pennsylvania coal miners of the seventies of the last century, should serve as a powerful warning. There was no state law against Unions and strikes then, but there was an employers' ukase. The mine owners were strong enough to make Unions and strikes illegal under the employers' private law. But workers did organize. Under the circumstances, the organization was secret, hence conspirative. It was a peaceful organization of peaceful and orderly Irish workers, but its conspiratory character opened the gate to the provocateur, and he came in, under instructions from the mine owners and a detective agency. The result was the execution of a number of innocent workers and the extermination of their Union.

The same thing on an infinitely larger scale will be attempted under the anti-strike laws. The labor movement being illegal—that will be the inevitable effect of the anti-strike law if carried to its logical conclusion—it will be a conspiracy in the eyes of the law. The provocateurs will play the strongest phrases upon the workers' outraged feelings. incite to the wildest sort of action, and deliver the labor movement to the hangmen. The hope of the enemies of Labor is that while the labor movement is too far advanced to submit to the new tyranny without opposition, it is not far enough advanced to control that opposition and wield it as an instrument of construction. It is the hope of our enemies that when that opposition will come they will be able to take hold of it, through their paid violence inciters, and lead the workers into the shambles. Enforced conspiracy coupled with provocation annihilated the Molly Maguire mine workers' organization, and the same conditions are expected to annihilate the labor movement in New York state.

On March 10, in the city of Rochester, David Goldstein, a traveling slanderer of the progressive labor movement, stated in a slanderous attack upon the Amalgamated that "there will soon be a movement started for some sort of legislation that will protect the American public who buy clothing from having to pay the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for Bolshevist propaganda." He later repeated the slander and the attack in Baltimore.

The anti-strike bills coming upon the heels of David Goldstein's threat, and the "manufacture of clothing" being specifically included in the proposed legislation, the bills assume the appearance of being particularly aimed at the Amalgamated.

We shall not be surprised that, in order to allay the fears of the "official" labor movement, "assurances" will be given that the antistrike laws will not be applied to the "regular" labor organizations. In other cases such "assurances" worked. Secretary of Labor Wilson and President Gompers of the A. F. of L. had "positive assurance" that the Lever Act against profiteering would not be used against labor. But, in spite of that "assurance," the recent miners' strike was broken by the federal administration through the Lever Act.

It is the emphasis placed upon clothing as one of the industries chosen for the prohibition of strikes that makes the bills especially vindictive. There never were so few strikes in the clothing industry in New York State as at the present time. That is due entirely and exclusively to the fact that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has organized the clothing workers and entered into arrangements with the employers by which the interests of the workers are fully protected. Wherever the clothing workers are organized, they have made strikes illegal. But they have done that by their own decision. That means that the workers retain and maintain the right to strike, but they agree not to exercise that right in consideration of terms of employment agreed upon. The consciousness of possessing that right, which may be invoked in case of extreme emergency, is enough for the workers not to exercise it otherwise. Also, with the right to strike, though not exercising it, the organization of the workers has a voice in the composition of the tribunals, which will be denied to them by the law.

The fact, then, that there are fewer strikes in the clothing industry today than there ever were before, and that production is more continuous today than ever before, is ample proof that the bill forbidding

strikes is not for the purpose of production or eliminating unrest. It is the best proof that the purpose is to deprive the workers of their organizations and better working conditions.

There is not even a pretext of fairness in the appointment of the "industrial court" by the Governor. He is not required to give representation to labor. He may reward friends—\$15,000 a year—and appoint politicians, or he may give the powerful court to the employers themselves. The court will have the power to increase working hours and reduce wages. Reduction in wages may be made retroactive and the worker will have to return to the employer wages already received. There may be fear that that would not be collectible, as workers own no property. But a worker's wages may be garnisheed if he does not pay his debts. A violation of the law will be punishable by fine and imprisonment; larger fine and larger imprisonment for union officials than for union members.

The bills that are now before the legislature have prepared the gallows, the funeral and the grave for the labor movement. The question is only, is the labor movement ready to permit itself to be executed?

The juggernaut is at work; American workingmen, beware!

### STRIKE IN SYRACUSE ON DAY THAT AGREEMENT IS SIGNED IN ROCHESTER

The forty-four hour week triumph in New York was the great turning point in the history of the clothing industry. Clothing markets which had seemed hopeless for the organization before, were electrified into feverish organization activity by the great historical event of January, 1919.

Syracuse was one of those markets.

All previous attempts to organize the clothing workers in that city brought scant encouragement. Early in February, 1919, the workers, upon their own initiative, undertook a movement for organization, 44-hour week and better wages. They called upon us for aid which we gave them promptly and liberally.

Syracuse was then a so-called "union label" market. That is, the employers paid to the United Garment Workers for labels and the workers shared the usual lot of the "label" employees: Poor wages (at least one case of \$4.50 per week came under our observation), no rights and no redress for the workers' grievances.

The conditions in Syracuse were such that a struggle was inevitable. The workers were eager to organize like their fellows in other cities, which the employers were just as eager to prevent. In that the employers had the assistance of the label and scab agency. The victory of the Amalgamated in New York reinforced by the great success in the nearest market, Rochester, gave courage to the workers. As stated, the struggle was inevitable, but it was hastened by the action of the label salesmen.

For reasons which require no explanation, the workers in the "label" shops were not enthusiastic about paying dues to the label agency. The latter paid less attention to the income from dues than from labels.

But just at the time when the atmosphere was growing tense as a result of the development in the industry generally, the label sellers, unwisely for themselves, undertook to enforce the payment of dues by members who were revolting against the combined tyranny of the employers and the label "union." Attempts by the firms of Nick Peters and Woodhull, Goodale & Bull to dock the workers for dues precipitated a strike on February 13, 1919.

The strikers from the two shops held a mass meeting at which demands were drafted for the immediate establishment of the forty-four hour week, for a wage raise of \$4 a week to meet the increased cost of living, and for recognition of the right to belong to a union of the workers' choice. A committee of the strikers presented the demands to the firms.

On the following Monday the shops of Dolan & Ferrie and the Mannheim Company joined the strike. The next day the William Rossman shop joined the strike.

The firms affected by the strike attempted to get strikebreakers from Utica, with the assistance of the United Garment Workers. When the prospective strikebreakers were informed by pickets that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was conducting strikes for the forty-four hour week and for betterment of wages and working conditions they returned to Utica.

The scab agency was particularly frantic because Syracuse was one of the very few spots in the country it still had a hold on. The agency invoked the aid of the official labor movement. The Trades Assembly, A. F. of L. central body in Syracuse officially went on record against the striking workers.

The police and the newspapers were viciously hostile to us. A parade led by two strikers in uniform, returned soldiers, was dispersed and the soldiers arrested. They were later discharged. Many strikers were beaten up, some in their own homes, by thugs imported from New York.

Saturday, March 29, 1919, the strike was won, when the employers conceded to the workers the right to belong to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the forty-four hour week and increases in wages.

General Organizer Dora Lohse was in charge of the strike. She was assisted by General Organizers Aldo Cursi and Martin Dusevico of Rochester.

The Amalgamated is now firmly established in that city.

#### BUFFALO ORGANIZED

Buffalo was another city in Western New York where the clothing workers had been unorganized. Like all other clothing markets, Buffalo had had very unfortunate experiences with labor misleaders in the past. The workers in that city had been so misled as to be discouraged from organizing again. But the new wave of organization that was then rising throughout the country also brought hope and encouragement to Buffalo.

An organization campaign was undertaken with the 44-hour week as one of the objectives. Demands were formulated, strikes were called when there was no other alternative, with the result that the industry was unionized, though at that time not yet completely, the forty-four hour week established and wage increases secured.

On May 25 the entire industry came to a standstill. On that day the firm of M. Wile & Co. locked out its employees, which act precipitated a walkout in all other factories. On May 29 the following agreement, unanimously approved by the membership, was entered into by the union with the firms of Herman Wile & Co., Frank & Lochner, and Cohen, Himmel & Co.:

"The hours of work shall be 44 per week, to be worked 8 hours on week days, with a Saturday half holiday.

For work done in excess of the regular hours per day, overtime shall be paid to piece workers 50 per cent in addition to piece work rates, to the week workers at the rate of time and a half. Pay day shall be on Saturday.

There shall be an increase of wages to take effect immediately as follows: One dollar

increase to week workers and 5 per cent to piece workers.

If there shall be a general change in wages in the clothing industry, the matter of revision in wages shall be taken up between the employer and the representative of the Union. In case of disagreement, the matter shall be referred to a Board of Arbitration, to be agreed upon in such an emergency.

When hiring new help, the first two weeks are to be considered a probationary period. After that time, the person employed is to be considered a member of the reg-

ular force.

During the slack season the work shall be equally divided among all employes.

It is agreed that the principle of the preferential shop shall prevail, to be applied in the following manner: Preference shall be applied in hiring and discharge. Whenever the employer needs additional workers, he shall first make application to the Union, specifying the number and kind of workers needed. The employer shall not be compelled to pay the workers, so sent, more than prevailing rate, or more than what the person who previously held the job had.

The Union shall be given 48 hours to supply the number of workers required, and if unable, for any reason, to furnish them, the employer shall be at liberty to secure

them in the open market as best he can.

In like manner the principle of preference shall be applied to the case of discharge. Should it, at any time, become necessary to reduce the number of employes, the first ones to be dismissed shall be those who are not members of the Union.

Sanitary conditions are to prevail in the shops.

An employe, feeling himself aggrieved, shall present his complaint in the first instance to the shop chairman, who shall take the matter up for adjustment with the shop superintendent. In the event they are unable to agree, the matter shall be taken up between the representative of the Union and the employer. In case these two are unable to agree, the matter shall be referred to an umpire to be agree upon by both parties.

No strike or lockout shall take place during the life of this agreement. In case of stoppage, the shop chairman shall order the workers to resume work at once as their grievances will be taken up and adjusted as provided for in Article 10 of this agreement.

The workers affected by this agreement received a wage raise of \$1 for week workers and 10 per cent for piece workers on May 1. The additional increase makes the total increase \$2 for week workers and 15 per cent for piece workers within four weeks.

The organization work in Buffalo was carried on by General Organizers Aldo Cursi, Martin Dusevico and John Bongiovanni.

On June 10 a settlement was made with the firm of M. Wile & Co. which was the last to hold out against the strikers. The settlement was effected at a conference at the Hotel Statler at which Dr. Louis J. Kopald of Temple Shaarei Zion, presided. Dr. Kopald was instrumental in bringing about the conference. Messrs. Hirsch, Boch and Werner represented the firm. General Secretary Joseph Schlossberg and General Organizer Aldo Cursi represented the Amalgamated.

The settlement provided for a wage raise of \$2 a week to all week workers, including cutters, in addition to the wage raise of \$1 recently won. A wage raise of 7 per cent was gained for piece workers in addition to the recent wage raise of 10 per cent.

At a mass meeting of the strikers the settlement was accepted with enthusiasm.

In addition to the wage raise provisions, the settlement provides for a forty-four hour week, time and a half pay for overtime, no discrimination against Union members, and equal distribution of work during slack seasons. All complaints of the workers are to be taken up in the first instance by the shop chairman with a representative of the firm. If the shop chairman, with the assistance of the shop committee, and the representative of the firm, fail to reach an agreement, a representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will take up the matter with the firm or its representatives. If they disagree, they shall refer the matter for adjudication to the third party mutually agreed upon by both. His decision shall be final.

General Organizer Joseph Barry of Boston has since been looking after the organization work in Buffalo, and has rendered valuable assistance to the local union.

#### CZARIST METHODS IN UTICA

During the general strike in Syracuse, the employers attempted to recruit scabs from Utica, N. Y. The workers in the latter city were as loyal to their class as all other workers, but having been unorganized they were out of touch with their fellow workers in other cities and unaware that they were being called to do strikebreaking service. They left Syracuse and returned to their homes as soon as they learned of the strike.

The clothing workers of Utica had the same tale of woe as the clothing workers everywhere else, who had had the misfortune of organizing under the United Garment Workers. The spirit of the clothing workers of Utica was crushed thirteen years ago in a general strike that was misled and lost by the United Garment Workers.

When the betrayed strikers returned to work, they swore that they never again would listen to a labor organizer. Unorganized, they were at the mercy of their employers and conditions grew steadily worse.

Four years ago the workers at the Kincaid Kimball factory went on strike against intolerable conditions. Remembering the betrayal of the officers of the United Garment Workers, the strikers decided to conduct the strike themselves. They refused assistance from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at that time. After a few weeks of struggle the strike was lost.

Since that strike the employers formed an association. They organized a blacklist system to drive out of the city all workers who showed interest in organization. When a worker left a job he was given a passport and a letter of recommendation. Before getting a job at another factory he had to present his pass and letter. At the new factory the for leaving. At the end of the week the worker was given a passport and a letter of recommendation. Before getting a job at another factory he had to present his pass and letter. At the new factory the worker was asked to leave his passes and letters and come the next day. The blacklist was surveyed during the interval. If the employer learned that the worker was in any way undesirable, there was no work for

"There is no job for you," the boss would announce, although there were advertisements for workers in front of the building.

"Why, you promised me a job yesterday," the worker would exclaim. "There is no job for you, just the same," was the reply.

"Why?" the worker persisted in questioning.

"The employers' association has notified me not to give you a job," was the final confession of the employer.

Disappointed at this factory, the worker made the rounds of all clothing factories, only to learn that the blacklist order had reached everywhere. In front of all shops there were advertisements for workers, but workers with brains, workers who think, workers who desire to organize were not wanted by the bosses' association.

In time the blacklist developed a powerful spirit of revolt.

Wages in Utica were the most meager in the clothing industry of America. A collar baster fifteen years in the trade was getting \$9 a week. A vest presser, twenty-three years in the trade, was getting \$12 a week. The best tailor did not get more than \$20; operators, not more than \$21 and \$22. There were many girls in the clothing factories, all doing what was men's work, who were paid \$8 to \$14 a week.

With Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse organized, the Utica clothing workers were bound to follow suit. Before long a beginning was made. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was called to Utica, came there and was given an enthusiastic welcome. A Local Union was formed and the work was undertaken with determination to succeed.

For the first time in years there was a mass meeting of clothing workers on July 22. Although there was a heavy downpour of rain to interfere with the meeting, there were 300 workers present. The members at the meeting were unanimous in the declaration of their intention to fight for the same conditions as were won by the Amalgamated members in other cities.

The success of the Amalgamated in the organization campaign in Utica prompted the employers to follow the road travelled by other employers under like circumstances. They turned to the United Garment Workers for help. The scab agency came to Utica, but the only

effect of their presence in that city was to strengthen our organization campaign. In their effort to check the rapidly developing organization, the employers offered "voluntary" concessions to the workers, but the latter were not deceived by the sudden generosity. They issued a leaflet for distribution among the unorganized workers explaining that the action of the employers was due to the fact that the workers were organizing under the Amalgamated.

The organization was steadily growing. The employers became desperate and stopped at nothing in their attempts to destroy it.

The Chamber of Commerce took up their cause. It published large paid advertisements in the papers, viciously denouncing us to the people. The columns of those papers were tightly closed to us.

In the course of its organization work, the Utica Local Union called a mass meeting for August 14 at Foster Hall and invited General President Hillman to address it. The Utica Clothing Workers were eagerly expecting Brother Hillman's arrival. They were anxious to meet personally and hear the message of the President of the organization that has succeeded in organizing the clothing workers and making their lives happier.

Brother Hillman arrived in Utica on the day of the meeting ready to lend his assistance in establishing a strong organization and elevating working conditions in that city. But the Chamber of Commerce did not wish it.

When President Hillman no more than alighted from the train he was approached by three uniformed policemen, several detectives in plain clothes, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce and a number of what are believed to be scab herders of the United Garment Workers.

"You can't stay in this town," was the welcome from one of the policemen.

"But I am here on a lawful errand as an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America," replied President Hillman.

"That makes no difference to us," replied the cop. "You are not wanted here."

President Hillman protested at some length, but was met with the repeated, "You are not wanted here." So President Hillman was compelled to get back on the train he had just left. Three policemen followed him in the coach, and accompanied him for some distance on his way to Rochester.

President Hillman was rushed out from the station before he had an opportunity to see the committee from the Utica Local that was awaiting him there.

Thus Utica copied the methods of the Czar, which died in Russia with the death of Czarism. It seemed unbelievable that a thing like that would be possible in the State of New York. This is law and order with a vengeance. It was a clear announcement to the workers that, as far as they were concerned, Utica was not in the United States, except geographically. As for the workers, Utica was a part of the Kai-

ser's Germany and the Czar's Russia. It is true that there was a Federal Constitution, a State Constitution and all sorts of laws guaranteeing rights to the people, but those are just interesting documents and of historical value only. Citizenship rights, human rights, all cease in the presence of the employers' profit interests. Tremble all who speak of democracy. Autocracy is the word in Utica; Kaiserism and Czarism! The press, the municipal administration and "public opinion"—God knows what that is, with the press and meeting halls controlled by the industrial oligarchy—vigorously approved and encouraged the savage lawlessness and rowdyism.

The meeting Brother Hillman was to address was forbidden—the Czarist program was carried out completely. But, unbeknown to the police, the workers succeeded in getting another hall quickly and held there a most successful meeting of indignation. The Chamber of Commerce spies learned of it too late to stop it.

Following the exclusion of Brother Hillman, General Organizers Bongiovanni and Barry were ordered out from the city.

Our experiences were also those of the Amalgamated Textile Workers who were organizing the weavers in that city.

The iron heel of Utica disconnected us for the time being from our local organization. The employers had hoped by those methods to force the workers back into submission; to prove to them the uselessness of trying to organize in a Czaristic city. But the reverse was the effect. Provoked by the criminality of the ruling clique, and deprived of their representatives and the right of assembly, the clothing workers and the textile workers on August 27, spontaneously walked out in general strike to give voice to their bitter resentment, a strike to restore law and order in Utica.

Our first concern was to protect the legal rights of our members. Efforts were made from Rochester and New York to secure a lawyer in Utica. Several lawyers declined to take up our fight for the protection of American rights; some because of sympathy with the lawbreakers; others probably because of intimidation by the lawless "Vigilance Committees," and still others because of the prejudice aroused against us by the newspapers who would not publish our side. Attorney J. A. Goldstone finally agreed to defend us.

We succeeded in restoring Utica to the list of American cities, at least to the extent of making it safe for an American citizen to come in without being forced out by gunmen. Our organizers returned to Utica and took charge of the situation.

Needless to say, the great juggernaut rode rough shod over the people. The press continued to calumniate the organization, incite public opinion against us, and the police were busy arresting the strikers.

While the strike began as a protest against the criminal anarchy of the powers that be, the Local Union also formulated its economic demands and informed the employers of them. The demands were:

"1. The reinstatement of all employes discharged for Union activity without discrimination in wages or work.

"2. The company is not to hire any women or boys for less than

\$12 a week.

- "3. Those who earn less than \$20 are to receive a 30 percent. increase.
- "4. Those who earn less than \$25 are to receive a 25 percent. increase.
- "5. Those who earn less than \$30 are to receive a 20 percent. increase.
- "6. Those who earn more than \$30 are to receive a 15 percent. increase.
- "7. The Union is willing to consider the raises given recently in some shops as part of the increase demanded. This applies especially to Allen, Schmidt and Springle where we demand only a slight adjustment of the wage scale and the recognition of the Union."

The strikers received much aid in their struggle from Vincenzo De Lalla, who closed his drug store to give all his time to strike duties, Ulysse and Vitulio, owners of a music store, and from Rev. Perotto.

On Friday, September 5, the clothing and textile strikers marched to the City Hall to protest against the action of the authorities who refused to permit mass meetings in the open or in halls. The parade was led by fifty soldiers and sailors in uniform, carrying a large flag and signs giving explanations of the parade.

Mr. DeLalla was spokesman for the marchers. The soldiers demanded to see the Mayor, but were barred from the building by ten policemen. Rev. Perotto informed the Mayor that if the strikers were not given a permit for a meeting he would open his church to the workers.

The first mass meeting of the strikers was held in the church that night. The church was packed to the doors by striking clothing workers and textile workers.

The following day, Saturday, (September 6) the Sons of Italy Hall was procured for meetings. Meetings were held there daily.

Much of the militant spirit shown by the strikers was aroused by their treatment on Saturday morning, when several hundred paraders were arrested by the police for marching without a permit. The parade, headed by a band of ten men, and with signs reading "Join the Strike" and "Don't Be a Scab," included twenty-four former soldiers and sailors in uniform and a large group of girls and women members of the clothing and textile workers' organizations.

When the parade had crossed Genesee Street and swung into Columbia Street, Police Captain Wright jumped into the line of march, bellowing: "Halt! Every man is under arrest."

The band stopped playing, as mounted and foot police made an attempt to surround the hundreds of marchers. The entire parade was taken to the court yard in the rear of the police station. At the station the band was charged with playing music in a city street without a permit and the marchers were charged with parading without first giving the city authorities notice of the parade.

Attorney J. A. Goldstone represented the defendants when they appeared in City Court. All cases were continued and the arrested men and women were released on \$7,600 bonds provided by Mr. DeLalla,

Joseph Tomaino and Organizer Paul Blanshard of the textile workers. Mr. DeLalla was responsible for the collection of the bail money in such short time. That Saturday evening there was a dance at the Sons of Italy hall. The big hall was packed. The Banda Rossa gave its services free of charge to the strikers.

The persecution by the authorities was very cruel. Every morning about ten pickets were arrested. As no land owner in Utica dared appear as a bondsman, cash bail had to be given for each picket arrested. All the savings of the strikers went for bonds and for support of their families.

Arrests were made by the police without the least provocation. Pickets could not walk two by two, because this form of picketing was construed by the police as a blockade of the sidewalk. So the pickets walked one by one, saying nothing. They were arrested when walking in the most quiet and orderly manner along the sidewalk. If not arrested near the factories, the police arrested the pickets on their way home or on the way to and from their meeting place.

Grocers cancelled their credit to the strikers, apparently at the orders of the police and the Chamber of Commerce. So financial relief for the strikers was provided by the General Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The striking clothing workers and textile workers issued a newspaper, "The Clarion," to present their case to the public.

One firm, Allen, Schmidt and Pringle, signed an agreement with the Union granting its demands. Then pressure was brought to bear on the firm by the Chamber of Commerce and the agreement was repudiated. The workers were at the shop when the announcemnt was made that the firm would not abide by its word. All walked out for a renewal of the strike.

The reign of terror so brutalized the police that they were not content with arresting and clubbing and they shot at peaceful pickets. On October 28 the police fired at and wounded many strikers.

The murderous assault on the striking clothing workers and textile workers was the climax of more than a week of terrorism. For days the pickets had been met on the picket line by police who clubbed women with the same viciousness that they used in attacks on men.

Business men as well as workers were horrified by the shooting of the pickets. Many businessmen closed their places of business to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Amalgamated Textile Workers in protests to the city and state officials.

The pickets were attacked by the police as they marched to the Oneida Knitting Mills. The textile workers had been on strike at these mills for nearly two months. With the textile workers were many clothing workers, who had held joint picketing demonstrations with the textile workers since the beginning of the two general strikes.

A rain of bullets descended on the pickets after the police officer in charge of the uniformed gunmen issued the order "Fire to kill." Scores of shots were fired as the police emptied the magazines of their automatic pistols and heavy police revolvers and reloaded to fire again.

Women and children were not spared by the fiends as they shot down the defenseless strikers before them.

The General Organization gave the Utica strikers full moral and financial support. They were also aided by visits from General Secretary Schlossberg, General Organizers Paul Arnone, Joseph Barry and Brother Frank Bellanca, editor of Il Lavoro, our official journal in Italian.

The strike was not won. Nor was it lost. For the workers did not feel defeated when they wound up the fight after five months. They established an organization which is there to stay. All strikers have been placed at jobs. A few shops, one of them employing about one hundred workers, are under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated. The former strikers are grateful to the General Organization for the liberal support and encouragement given them.

#### GRAPPLING WITH LABOR'S FOES IN CINCINNATI

There was a general strike of clothing workers in Cincinnati in the memorable year 1913, when there were similar strikes in many other cities. The industry was completely tied up. The workers had full control of the situation and their hopes ran high. Suddenly word came from the general officers in New York that the strike was illegal and therefore declared off. The strikers were dazed. They could not at first realize what had happened. But the Great Betrayal was accomplished.

With their souls crushed, with bitterness in their hearts and curses on their lips, they returned to the factories like sheep to the shambles. A number of them, whose wrath and indignation were greatest, held out somewhat longer. But they fought a hopeless fight, and were unable to avoid going down in defeat like their fellow workers.

Six years passed. The band of traitors was repudiated and the clothing workers in almost all markets organized, improved conditions and secured rights for themselves. Not so in Cincinnati. The pernicious influence of the clique which had carried out the betrayal of 1913 kept the workers from organizing and improving conditions. Several attempts at organization were made, but they all proved unsuccessful. The bitter experiences of the past and the new efforts of the traitors kept the workers in abject slavery.

When the great victory in New York came, the forty-four hour week victory that made the country sit up and take notice, and filled the workers everywhere with new hope, Cincinnati, too, woke up. The employers had hoped to crush the new spirit with the help of their labor-lieutenants, the notorious betrayers. They soon realized that it could not be done by the ordinary methods. They tried to stem the tide of organization by throwing sops to the workers. First they announced a forty-six hour week to go into effect some time later. That proved a boomerang. It only served to whet the appetite of the workers. They argued: "If the fear of our joining the Amalgamated has forced a reduction of the working week to forty-six hours, if we really join it we

shall surely get the forty-four hour week here as the clothing workers got it everywhere else." The employers then offered the forty-four hour week immediately.

The workers, whose confidence in organization was revived and who were set to thinking by the tremendous event in New York and the efforts of the employers to keep them from organizing by offering concessions, put two and two together. They concluded that the sops offered by the employers would be useless if they, the workers, remained unorganized. As a result the ranks of the Amalgamated in Cincinnati kept on growing. Then the employers offered to permit the workers to organize provided they repudiate the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and join the United Garment Workers. By that time the workers had acquired sufficient self-consciousness and sense of manhood to determine for themselves what organization they should belong to. The collusion between the employers and the professional betrayers of the clothing workers was so apparent that none but the blind could fail to see it.

When all efforts on the part of the employers to keep the workers from organizing or to sandbag them into the United Garment Workers had failed, repressive measures were resorted to: the lockout, the blacklist, the discharge. Finally the workers were forced by the employers into a general strike.

To tell the story more fully, this is what happened:

There was a local organization of the Amalgamated in that city. It struggled for its existence and finally gave up though we were anxious to organize the city for its own benefit and also because it was a recruiting ground for scabs during strikes in other cities. The news from New York brought new life to the clothing workers in that city. On January 24, 1919, we received the following message:

Our heartiest congratulations to all members of the A. C. W. of A. upon your splendid victory. Brothers, make your victory complete. Help us organize the Cincinnati clothing workers.

THE FUTURE LOCAL OF THE A. C. W. OF A.

LOUIS FISHER, President LOUIS OKUN, Secretary.

We promptly reorganized Local 113 and undertook a vigorous organization campaign. A number of successful mass meetings were held with very encouraging results.

On March 7, 1919, Local 188 of the United Garment Workers voted to affiliate with the Amalgamated. The members of that local were employees of "label" shops, who were forced to pay dues to the "United." "Their hearts were never with that body. Emboldened by the rising wave of organization in the city, they decided to place themselves where they belonged.

At the same time the employers, in the hope of stemming the tide, announced the forty-four hour week, though on the 15th of February they had, for the same reason, announced the forty-six hour week to go into effect March 28.

Those who were interested in keeping the workers from organizing themselves stopped at nothing in their efforts to carry out their schemes. They went to the extent of shutting off the lights at a mass meeting at Central Turner Hall on March 13. A thousand workers filled the place and were to be addressed by New York members of the General Executive Board who stopped in Cincinnati on their way to a Board meeting in Chicago. The audience were determined to proceed with the meeting by candle light, and an ample supply of candles was immediately secured. But the police refused to permit the use of candles. Nor would they permit a meeting in the dark.

Brother Schlossberg gave the following impressions of that meeting in Advance:

God said, "Let there be light." But thieves and criminals are afraid of light. In The above words from the Scriptures came to my mind when I arrived at Central Turner Hall, in Cincinnati, March 13, where a mass meeting of our organization was to be held.

The large hall was well lighted and rapidly filling with men and women who came to hear the message of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Suddenly the lights went out.

Somebody had pulled out the plugs or in some other way cut off the electric current. While the particular creature that had carried out that piece of vandalism preferred not to introduce himself to the outraged audience, it is known that it was the work of the same black hand that had kept the clothing workers in darkness for a quarter of a century.

The police had forbidden the proprietor to rent us the hall for a meeting because of the horrible stories told about us. When the true situation and the purpose of the meeting were explained to the Chief of Police, he removed the ban.

But the forces of Darkness were determined not to permit us to hold our meeting, and the lights were shut off. A "union electrician" was sent for by the proprietor, but he "failed to find anything wrong with the wires." Candles were brought but the proprietor would not permit those in the hall to light them.

General Treasurer Wolf took one candle with him as a souvenir. If the Labor Movement will ever open a Class Struggle Museum he will place it there as a relic of the time when Darkness was battling against the admission of Light into the Labor Movement.

A suggestion was made to hold the meeting in the dark. The police would not have permitted that. But it was not necessary. A new hall was secured in the mean-time, Machinists' Hall.

Several hundred had gone home, thinking that no meeting would be held, but there were over six hundred present when Brother A. Snyder, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who was chairman, called the meeting to order at the new hall.

God said, "Let there be light." But thieves and criminals are afraid of light. In darkness they find security and hope. In darkness their hideous faces are not seen and their treacherous acts do not become known.

Was it their intention to cause a panic by the sudden darkness, or did they imagine that by putting out the lights they would put an end to our organization campaign?

In either case they only succeeded in exhibiting their stupidity and brutality.

There was no panic. Never was a large crowd more orderly under such provoking circumstances. The outrage only served the purpose of stimulating still more the already high and strong spirit that has developed during our organization campaign. Dozens of speeches would not have done for us what that single act of black handedness has done.

We had a wonderful meeting. It was a remarkable demonstration of progressive Unionism and true working class solidarity. The meeting was addressed by Miss Caroline Wolf of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, Harry Madanick, Harry Cohen, David Wolf, Frank Bellanca, Nicholas Klein and the writer.

"God said, Let there be light." Our enemies say, "Let there be darkness." That is their only salvation. What a compliment to the Amalgamated that it can be fought only with Darkness. Wherever Light is we are safe and happy. We lighted our torch over four years ago and have during all that time carried light and hope to the Clothing Workers from one end of the country to the other. There is no power strong enough, however evil it may be, to extinguish that torch. And so long as that flame is alive the Clothing Workers will follow it in ever greater numbers in the march to their final emancipation.

"God said, Let there be light," and we are carrying out God's mandate by annihilating the forces of darkness.

On March 19 the members of Local 188 were locked out from employment. That was like pouring oil on flames. The workers determined to organize and the employers determined not to permit it. A general strike was unavoidable. It came on March 24. The organization formulated the following demands:

1. A 20 percent, increase in wages.

2. Collective bargaining.

3. Time and a half for overtime.

4. Equal division of work during slack season.

No sooner was the struggle begun than we found that we were not only opposed by the employers but likewise by the "official" labor movement of the city, the municipal authorities, the courts and the newspapers. The cry of "Un-Americanism," "sedition" and "Bolshevism" was promptly raised against us. Since our country entered the war that cry was proof against common sense and decency. Just shout "sedition" and you are sure to befog the real issues so that nobody would see them or care about them. "Sedition" was the big scare headline in the newspaper, blinding the reader to the true merits of the case; "sedition" rang in the courtroom and deafened all argument or presentation of evidence by the Amalgamated; "sedition" cried the thug who slugged the pickets, the strikers and the organizers. It was the old story. The same workers who had been good American citizens so long as they stayed unorganized and submitted to every injustice, or paid tithe to the label agency and asked for nothing, became "dangerous elements" when they organized and made demands for better working conditions. The very same people are today producing clothing for the Cincinnati market under conditions which they had then fought for and which were then denounced by our enemies including the "official" labor movement, as "Bolshevism."

One firm issued the following circular to its employees before the strike:

Trouble makers have tried to make you believe that we would deal with them, and that you could not work for us without their cooperation. The result of this is fear on the part of a few of our employees, who are now missing from their places. This cost a large loss of wages to the absent ones and will cost the loss of some their positions.

We do not believe there are more than a half dozen un-Americans in our employ and we appeal to you to stand by American principles. Some have been led astray through threats and fears. MANHOOD MUST ASSERT ITSELF. Our laws thoroughly protect every American, on their way to and from their employment.

The workers answered the appeal by walking out to a man. To make the issue clear before the public and to meet the slander of un-Americanism the strikers issued a statement for circulation among the public telling the truth about the situation.

Anti-labor papers forgot the age in which we are living and called upon the public to "treat 'em (the strikers) rough." One "labor paper" (the Labor Advocate) took that cue and made the following appeal to its readers: "All ordinary methods should be dropped and action of the most primitive nature taken, and at once.

Incidentally the following fact may be mentioned, though not germane to the subject under discussion. It speaks volumes, shows the prevailing atmosphere with regard to labor generally, and is illuminating for everyone interested in the labor movement.

The same "labor paper" contained another story, which, appearing on the same page as the savage attack on the clothing strikers, is very amusing; or, we should rather say, would have been exceedingly amusing if it were not so sadly tragic.

Whatever the misleaders of the workers may say about us, we can never lose sight of the fact that the workers, the men and women of the rank and file, are our brothers and sisters. When they are kept in ignorance, when they are misled and betrayed, it is as much our concern as it is theirs. Unfortunately, no one can help them unless they help themselves, as we did in our case.

It appears from the account contained in that paper that employes of the Cincinnati fire department were discharged for joining the Firemen's Union. The official Labor Movement, which was so "powerful" in denouncing the clothing strikers as "Bolsheviki," calling for "action of the most primitive nature," applauding the persecution of the strikers and rejoicing at the imaginary success of the employers in breaking the strike, found itself helpless and impotent when its turn came to protect the rights of its own members.

Says the "Labor Advocate": "The whole case in a nutshell is that the Mayor and Safety Director are not opposed to 'welfare associations,' but are opposed to any organization in the fire department 'affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.'"

So affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is no protection from capitalist persecution for workers who dare insist on their rights. And this in the very same city and at the very same time that workers were being persecuted for affiliation with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The paper proceeds: "No other metropolitan city officials in the world are so narrow or so far behind the times, and yet wonder is expressed why Cincinnati stood still for the last three decades and watched little way-stations forge ahead of it."

Of course, we should be charged with Bolshevism if we suggest that the same criticism of the city administration may apply in connection with the clothing workers' strike.

The paper continues apologetically: "Not a scintilla of evidence was offered to show that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor makes a man a traitor, burglar or horse-thief.

"Yet the Mayor, the Safety Director, and the Civil Service Commission have held that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor unfits a man for service in the fire department!"

As stated above, the press of Cincinnati, including the "Labor Advocate," was very hostile to us and solid for the employers. It will, therefore, be interesting to note the statement in the "Advocate" that "THE LOCAL PRESS, WITH POSSIBLY ONE EXCEPTION, IS STRONGLY AGAINST FIREMEN'S UNION."

So the local press of Cincinnati was, after all, treating us on a basis of equality with the American Federation of Labor.

Very pitiful indeed was the following groan by the "Labor Advocate": "When the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, announced its intention to uphold the President of the United States, its Army and its Navy, to the last man and the last dollar, with its great war-time leader, Sam Gompers, that organization never dreamed that it would be singled out by the Mayor of Cincinnati and its Public Safety Director as an organization with which city firemen could not lawfully affiliate."

Before long the first victory was won by the strikers. On Saturday, April 12, the Globe Tailoring Company, one of the largest mail order firms, agreed to grant a 10 percent. wage raise to men and 15 percent. to women, with time and a half for overtime. The forty-four hour week had been established before the strike. The firm agreed to recognize the shop committee and to divide work equally in the slack season.

On June 1 a similar settlement was made with the firm of Milton Ochs, recognizing a shop chairman and a shop committee.

About the middle of June, after thirteen weeks of bitter struggle, the general strike in Cincinnati came to an end when most firms involved agreed to grant a minimum wage increase of 10 percent. for men and 15 percent. for women and promised that there would be no discrimination against members of the Amalgamated. The forty-four hour week had been granted by them before the strike in the hope of keeping the workers from organizing. The strikers returned to work with shop chairmen and shop committees.

About 200 arrests were made during the strike. All sorts of false charges were framed up against the strikers and the organizers. A number of serious charges were made and also plans to send the defendants to long terms in jail. Six strikers were sentenced to various terms in prison. Many were fined. The local surety companies were prevailed upon to refuse to furnish bonds and we were obliged to make arrangements with a surety company in New York.

A group of gunmen came to the Walnut Hotel in the midst of the strike with a scheme to get the Amalgamated officials into a taxi-cab so that they could have a lynching party on the outskirts of the city. Failing to get the officials to accompany them, they attacked a striker who was outside of the hotel, kidnapped two Italian strikers and took them to Covington, Ky., across the Ohio River. The strikers were terribly beaten and threatened with death if they did not return to work immediately.

The Cincinnati strike was used as a pretext by enemies of our organization in Chicago to bring about the raid on our offices in that city and the indictments of a number of our Chicago members on November 18, 1919.

Three organizations in Cincinnati demonstrated their friendship for the Amalgamated. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union and the Machinists' Union. The latter extended the use of its meeting hall to us, and had the courage to stand up for us against the hostile Central Labor Council. When Ben Rothman, a delegate from Machinists' Union, Local 162, was refused a seat by that Council because he had acted as chairman at one of our meetings in the early part of the organization campaign, all the other machinists' delegates, about thirty in number, walked out with him.

During the progress of the strike we sent the following call for financial aid:

To Joint Boards, District Councils and Local Unions, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

Greeting:-

A call has come to us from our struggling fellow workers in Cincinnati, O.

Our great victory in New York last January, which has found an echo in all parts of the country, has also aroused the clothing workers in Cincinnati who had not responded to organization calls before. Inspired by our great progress everywhere they rapidly began to organize.

The employers announced the forty-four hour week in the hope of checking the new movement. But far from being checked the organization campaign gained impetus from the initial victory. Other means were then resorted to by the employers in their efforts to crush the new organization. As a result over two thousand of our members are now out on strike in Cincinnati. They demand the right to be organized, an increase in wages and collective bargaining. On a smaller scale they are now engaged in a struggle similar to that in Baltimore in 1916, as here, too, the repudiated and discredited Bible House clique has lined up with the employers and all enemies of Labor to break the strike. Among other things they are assisting the employers by publicly denouncing the strikers and securing strikebreakers.

The strikers are being subjected to all hardships and persecutions so well known to us all, including slander, libel, arrest and physical assault.

We ask of you assistance along two lines:

First—Watch with all care and diligence in order to prevent the making of Cincinnati work in your city. If your suspicion is aroused inform us at once.

Second—Immediate and liberal financial aid is imperative. Our Cincinnati members had not had an opportunity to provide funds when the employers made the onslaught for the destruction of the organization. The funds must be provided for them by us.

With Cincinnati organized a very effective strikebreaking center that has menaced organized clothing centers in the past, will have been eliminated. With the strike won working conditions in the clothing industry in Cincinnati will be improved and no longer threaten the working conditions in other cities.

Help, quickly and liberally. Act at once. Send all contributions to the undersigned. Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The following exchange of correspondence speaks for itself:

Chicago, Ill., May 7, 1919.

Mr. Rice, Mgr.

U. S. Employment Service,

7th and Elm Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir:-

While in Cincinnati yesterday, I learned that a committee called on you to inform you that a strike of clothing workers is on in your city and ask you not to permit your bureau to be used as a means of furnishing strike breakers to the employers.

Confirming the verbal statement made to you by the committee yesterday, I wish to state that a large number of clothing workers have been on strike in the city of Cincinnati for more than six weeks for the purpose of securing better working conditions. Information has reached us to the effect that the employers are securing help through your bureau to replace the strikers, hoping in that way to break the strike. We know that it is not the policy of the United States Government to furnish scabs against striking workers.

During the war we cooperated with the government in the manufacture of uniforms for the United States Army. Our members served in the army and bought liberty bonds for millions of dollars. It is unthinkable that the government, in the face of all this, and also in view of its declared policy to promote the welfare of the workers, would consciously assist the employers in defeating their employees who have been forced into a struggle against oppressive conditions and for more nearly American conditions.

Hoping that you will take the proper steps to prevent the use of the United States Employment Service against the struggling workers, I beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 8, 1919.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 409 Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:-

In answer to your protest of May 7, 1919, I beg to inform you that the United States Employment Service does not furnish strike breakers to employers but has adopted a policy of strict neutrality between employers and employees.

The Director General of the United States Employment Service has issued instructions relative to the handling of disputes of this kind and I assure you we are endeavoring to carry out his policy to the letter.

As to taking the proper steps to prevent the use of the United States Employment Service against the struggling workers, I assure you nothing of the kind has happened; but this service is a public service to be rendered employer and employee alike, in a fair and neutral manner.

Sincerely yours.

ROBERT E. RICE, Examiner in Charge.

New York, May 13, 1919.

Mr. Robert E. Rice, Mgr., U. S. Employment Service, 7th and Elm Streets, Cincinnati, O.

Dear Sir:-

I have yours of the 8th ins., in which you state that the United States Employment Service does not furnish strike breakers to the employers but has adopted a policy of strict neutrality between employer and employee.

Inasmuch as sending help to a firm whose employees are on strike means supporting the employers against the striking workers, may I ask you by what method you advise the applicant for a job that there is a strike in the place to which he is sent so that he may not consciously act as a strike breaker.

Thanking you for the information, I beg to remain, Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
U. S. Employment Service, Washington

June 16, 1919.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, Rooms 701-705, New York City.

#### Dear Sir:-

- 1. Acknowledgment is made of your favor of the 7th inst., in which you inclosed correspondence which your office has had with Mr. Robert E. Rice, U. S. Employment Service, Cincinnati, Ohio, relative to that office directing men to work where there is a strike existing.
- 2. This Service is referring the matter to the Federal Director for the state of Ohio, requesting that office to make a thorough investigation and just as soon as report of same is received will advise you.

Yours very truly,

J. B. DENSMORE, Director General.

The fight was forced upon the Cincinnati organization before it had a chance to establish itself. It had no sign of a treasury. The strike was, therefore, entirely financed by the general organization, strike benefits, court fines, lawyers' fees, rents, and all other expenses. Only a small part was contributed at the latter part of the strike, by members who had returned to work under settlements.

In course of the campaign and the subsequent strike the following General Organizers were active in Cincinnati: Lazarus Marcovitz, Harry Madanick, Alex Cohen, Philip De Luca, Miss Dora Lohse, President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg.

Since the strike the organization work was continued with the assistance of General Executive Board Members Frank Rosenblum, Samuel Levin and General Organizers Jack Kroll and Anton Johannsen.

New increases in wages have since been received to meet the high cost of living.

We now have a well established organization in Cincinnati with collective bargaining agreements with the following firms: Milton Ochs, Globe Tailoring Company, Moderate Tailoring Company, P. H. Davis Tailoring Company, Abe Block & Company, American Art Tailoring Company, Siebler Tailoring Company, Frieberg & Kahn, Mazur Brothers and Nobby Clothing Company.

#### CLEVELAND ON THE MAP

The Amalgamated organization work in Cleveland began in 1915 in connection with the general strike of that year in Chicago. A local organization was built up but the response from the rank and file in the industry to all the calls from the organization left much to be desired. A number of strikes were conducted, sometimes with and sometimes without success. But January 22, 1919, in New York, turned the scales for Cleveland. The clothing workers began to flock to the organization. A campaign under the leadership of General Organizer Louis Hollander proved most successful. Several employers attempted to head off the sweeping campaign by instituting lockouts on March 17. Those were the National Tailors, the Standard Tailors and the Modern Tailors. The organization continued its work undisturbed. On March 13 the following letter was sent to the employers:

Local 112, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of this city, has had under consideration for some time the urgent necessity of some improvement in the conditions of the workers in the clothing industry. We regret to state that the conditions of the clothing workers in Cleveland are far below those of the workers in the same industry in other parts of the United States.

As you know, the working week has been reduced in practically all clothing centers in the United States and Canada to forty-four hours. This has become an accepted standard in the industry. The clothing workers in Cleveland are still working longer hours. By asking for a forty-four hour week we only ask what the clothing manufacturers in other cities have already conceded. Also, the high cost of living makes an increase in wages imperative.

We have accordingly formulated the following demands, which we herewith submit to you:

The forty-four hour week;

A wage increase of 30 per cent for piece workers and \$4 a week for week workers; Double pay for overtime;

Union recognition;

Abolition of subcontracting.

We find that the above improvements in our conditions are most essential in order to bring the clothing industry in this city anywhere near the level of the same industry in other cities.

We ask you to give this matter your immediate attention and hope that we shall be able to arrive at a peaceful understanding with you without the necessity of a stoppage of work.

The letter, having brought no reply, the workers quit work Wednesday, March 19.

The night before, at a mass meeting of members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at the Globe Theatre, Woodland and East 55th Streets, it had been voted to issue the call for the strike to enforce the demands.

The demonstration that followed the general strike was the most inspiring ever known in any labor struggle in Cleveland. The first shops that walked out formed in line for three blocks and marched through the clothing manufacturing district.

Singing and cheering for the Amalgamated, the paraders marched to shops that had not walked out. When the parade reached the shop of the Scotch Woolen Mills the workers were met coming down the stairs. From this shop the paraders marched to other shops.

The police showed the greatest sympathy with the strikers. Twelve mounted policemen escorted the paraders on their march through the city. Instead of riding down the pickets, as was done in other cities, the police showed their interest in the movement to better working conditions. At the conclusion of the parade a mass meeting was held.

The first firm to make a settlement was the Scotch Woolen Mills. It had been a United Garment Workers' label shop, but all workers quit work when the general strike began, joined the Amalgamated and the firm was obliged to make a settlement with us in order to get the workers to return to the factory.

The strike was of short duration. The forty-four hour week, improved wages and a good organization were safely established in Cleveland.

General Organizer Nathan Kleinman assisted for a time in the conduct of the strike. Brother D. Solomon of the Cleveland Cloakmakers' Union, rendered valuable aid.

The organization has carried on its work steadily with assistance from the General Office.

Recently General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz represented the organization in a conference with the employers with Prof. William L. Leiserson of Rochester as Impartial Chairman. The conference resulted in a wage increase for the members. Brother Andrew Grecco cooperated with Brother Marcovitz.

Dr. Leiserson's decision, ratified by the members, February 9, 1920, is as follows:

The differences between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, which were submitted to arbitration, included the

Abolishment of home work.

Weekly wages paid in cash.

Apprentice systems.

Conditions of contract work.

Abolishment of coupon clipping.

following questions:

A wage increase.

Establishment of minimum scales of wages.

Abolishment of piece work.

Although full hearings of all questions were held for two days, it is impossible to decide some of these questions on the evidence submitted. They are too important to be settled by any snap judgment and without detailed investigations of conditions in

the different shops. Moreover, some of the questions are too vital to the workers and to the employers to be decided by arbitration at all. These should be settled by agreement between the Union and the manufacturers after investigation and negotiation.

Some kind of an agreement will have to be worked out between the Manufacturers' Association and the Union anyway. The individual agreements with single manufacturers have expired and it is necessary to have one agreement with the Association of Manufacturers to establish on a definite basis the conditions of employment in all the shops, and to have a uniform set of rules and principles on the basis of which officers of the Union and the Association can settle individual disputes and an impartial arbitrator can decide cases. In this agreement provision should be made for the appointment of committees representing the Union and the Manufacturers, to study the questions that cannot be decided immediately and to reach an agreement later. On some of the questions the evidence and the arguments presented at a hearing showed a meeting of minds, and these questions, as well as the question of wages, are decided in this award.

It is decided-

- 1. That all home work shall be abolished.
- 2. The wages shall be paid in cash, and pay day shall be once a week.
- 3. That the wage increases and other awards in this decision, as well as all agreements as to conditions of employment, made between the manufacturers and the Union, shall apply equally to contract shops as to inside shops, and the Manufacturers' Association shall co-operate with the Union in seeing that contractors doing their work shall live up to the same agreements and decisions as apply to their inside shops.
- 4. That the following wages shall be fixed for beginners in the industry, learners or apprentices, whether men or women:

First six week, \$16.00 per week.

Next 4-1/2 months, 20.00 per week.

Next 6 months, 23.00 per week.

Thereafter, the wages fixed for the particular class or grade of work shall apply, in which he or she is engaged.

5. That all workers receiving over \$20.00 per week shall get an increase of \$6.00 per week, with back pay from February 1st, 1920; and all workers receiving \$20.00 and less shall receive an increase of \$5.00 per week, with back pay from February 1st, 1920.

Piece workers, earning more or less than \$20.00 shall have \$6.00 and \$5.00 per week, respectively, added to their piece rates, dating from February 1st, 1920.

- 6. That a committee, or committees, shall be appointed with representatives elected by the Union and the Manufacturers' Association, to make a thorough study of the following questions:
- (a) Scale of wages and standards of production.
- (b) Piece work and week work.
- (c) Coupon clipping and other methods of counting and recording work.
- (d) Apprentice systems and conditions under which apprentices shall be employed.

These Committees shall set to work immediately and shall be ready to report some time during the month of April, so that agreement may be reached in time to put the results agreed upon into effect for the new season, beginning June 1st, 1920.

In conclusion, it is recommended that a written agreement signed by both parties shall be made immediately, setting forth the terms and conditions of employment that have already been agreed upon, and also including the award made in this decision and the methods by which disputes may be settled.

W. M. Leiserson, Arbitrator.

# PITTSBURG JOINS AMALGAMATED

We did not have an organization in Pittsburgh until the end of 1918. We have a good organization in that city today. There was an organization of clothing workers in that city, but it was in the United Garment Somehow the occurrences in the clothing industry at and since Nashville had failed to impress the Pittsburgh workers. In December of 1918, word was received in New York that strike work was being made in Pittsburgh. General Organizer Louis Hollander was directed to proceed to that city and investigate. The Pittsburgh workers had heard of the lockout strike in New York and followed it with great They gave Brother Hollander all assistance in his investiga-The presence of an Amalgamated organizer in Pittsburgh stirred up the clothing industry. The workers woke up to realization of the fact that they properly belonged in the ranks of the Amalgamated. a meeting held on December 24, 1918, Local 86 of the United Garment Workers officially decided to withdraw from that body and apply to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a charter. That was gladly granted to them.

On January 12, the organization was installed as Local 86 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by General Secretary Schlossberg. The installation was the occasion for a great celebration by the clothing workers and a number of other progressive labor bodies in Pittsburgh.

Local 86 received full moral and financial support of the general organization, which enabled it to establish the forty-four hour week on March 17 and to secure wage raises and increase its membership.

Last January, Local 86 celebrated the first anniversary of its affiliation with the A. C. W. of A. at the Labor Lyceum. Secretary Schlossberg represented the General Organization. Among those present were John Fitzpatrick and William Z. Foster, chairman and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the National Committee that was conducting the great strike of the steel workers. Both brothers delivered hearty addresses to the large, appreciative and enthusiastic audience.

The Pittsburgh clothing workers have never missed an opportunity to show how happy they are to have finally joined the ranks of the organized clothing workers of the American continent.

#### CIVILIZED RULE IN BALTIMORE

In our reports to the previous Conventions, Baltimore figured as a sort of "Bloody Kansas" of the clothing industry. The question whether the Baltimore clothing workers should be free or slave—in this case, organized and protected or unorganized and unprotected—was literally fought out in blood. We submitted to the Baltimore Convention two years ago a detailed report of the physical onslaughts made upon us by a most despicable conspiracy of disguised enemies of labor in that city. We triumphed over the enemies. They are now all routed and discredited; we came out with flying colors.

As a result, we are now in a position to do our organization work in Baltimore peacefully and undisturbed. Our triumph over the physical

violence methods of the enemies has made possible the success of civilized methods. The latter have always been our methods; today the designing traitors in the labor movement are unable to oppose them effectively.

At the time that our Convention was held in Baltimore, a strike was on at the factory of Schloss Bros., begun April 18, 1918. During the Convention negotiations with the firm were going on, and on May 23 a satisfactory settlement was reached.

The history of the Amalgamated in Baltimore for the past two years is one of constructive work.

To the extent that attempts are still made to obstruct our work, they are no longer of the illegal and physical violence variety. The courts are now asked to forbid our organizing activities. The Baltimore Federation of Labor, whose president, John H. Ferguson, was the leading spirit in the reign of terror in that city in former days, actually applied to the courts for an injunction to restrain us in our legitimate work. This novel and interesting incident will be discussed later.

With the conspirators, Ferguson and his I. W. W. coterie, defeated, nothing of an exciting nature happened during the past two years in Baltimore. Under the leadership of its able manager, Brother Hyman Blumberg, the Joint Board proceeded with its work of building up the organization, increasing the membership, protecting the rights and interests of the workers in the factories, and steadily improving their condition.

Wage adjustments were made from time to time at conferences of representatives of the Amalgamated and the employers, and agreements were renewed as they expired.

February 4, 1919, was a red letter day for Baltimore. On that day the forty-four hour week went into effect for the clothing industry in that market. No strike was required. The employers accepted the New York decision as of nation-wide application. The date only was to be determined. February 4 was agreed upon in conference and that began the shorter working week.

That was another living demonstration of the fact that our organization is one and indivisible for the entire country. With New York having fought out the forty-four hour issue, all other markets, organized by the same Union, were benefited by the result.

# Injunction of the Baltimore Federation of Labor Against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

In their impotent rage at our success, the defeated conspirators sought to check our progress by a court injunction order. On September 13, 1919, the Baltimore Federation of Labor, John H. Ferguson, President, secured the following injunction from Judge Gorter of the Circuit Court:

The State of Maryland, to Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a voluntary corporation, and Hyman Blumberg, Business Manager or agent of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

Whereas, Baltimore Federation of Labor have exhibited to us in our Circuit Court of Baltimore City its Bill of Complaint for relief in Equity, and for an INJUNCTION to restrain you, the said Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Hyman Blumberg, Busi-

ness Manager or agent of said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, your servants, agents and employes, you and each of you from interfering in any way with said Theodore C. Linglebach and Charles V. Neuman and any and all members of Clothing Cutters & Trimmers, Local 15, United Garment Workers of America in their respective employments until the matter can be heard and determined in equity.

Now, therefore, these are to COMMAND and strictly to ENJOIN and PROHIBIT you, the said Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and Hyman Blumberg, Business Manager or agent of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, your servants, agents and employes, you and each of you from doing the things above recited until the further

order of our said Court in the premises.

As may be seen from the context, the injunction forbids "interference" with members of the clothing cutters' local of the United Garment Workers.

A word of explanation will be helpful.

The Nashville Convention, in 1914, found the clothing workers in Baltimore divided along the caste lines of cutters and tailors. The cutters, who had been "educated" to a false sense of superiority in their relations to the tailors, considered themselves labor "aristocrats". Their "aristocracy" did not flow from the fact that their working conditions were better but from the fact that the working conditions of the tailors were worse. The former officials fostered that feeling on the general principle of "divide and rule".

In the matter of the happenings at Nashville, the "superior" cutters lined up behind the repudiated officials and the "inferior" tailors with the new administration.

The repudiated officials sought to break the strike that was then on in Baltimore through their loyal cutters' local. That local did betray the tailors and returned to work without them. But the tailors continued the strike and won.

The subsequent developments made it clear that, whether or not the Amalgamated would meet with success in organizing the tailors, the United Garment Workers would never have them. Realizing that fact, the U. G. W. encouraged the organization of the tailors in the I. W. W., in the hope of thereby keeping them from joining the Amalgamated. Our last report showed how they failed in that scheme.

It seemed, however, that the cutters would remain with the "United". By tradition and prejudice they seemed to be wedded to the repudiated organization. It would probably have taken many years for that condition to change. We did not, at any rate, look at that time for a speedy change. But the rule of "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad", worked to the undoing of the United Garment Workers in Baltimore. Instead of leaving things alone and trying to hold what they had, they forced the issue, and hastened their own finish by a reign of terror and bloodshed, in the stupid hope of breaking down our organization. A complete report of that clash was made to the Convention two years ago. It is now a matter of history that, far from being annihilated, we emerged from that terrible conflict with a very active Amalgamated cutters' local and the entire organization greatly strengthened. A number of the "United" cutters were repelled by the revolting methods of their organization and the Baltimore Federation

of Labor, particularly since they were becoming familiar with the true character of the Amalgamated; they then joined our organization. The cutters realized how viciously we had been misrepresented to them.

The Amalgamated cutters' local very naturally sought to increase its membership and bring into its fold those cutting rooms that were still outside of it. It was for the purpose of blocking the telling activities of the Amalgamated cutters' local that the injunction was secured. It may be noted that the injunction was asked by and granted to the Baltimore Federation of Labor. Apparently the members of the "United" cutters' local were not much interested in obstructing the work of the Amalgamated. That assumption is supported by the fact that Charles V. Neuman, a member of the "United", who was specifically named in the injunction as one whom the Amalgamated must not offer membership, joined the Amalgamated Cutters' Union, along with others of his fellow workers, immediately after the temporary injunction was granted to "his" organization.

A hearing in response to the plea for a permanent injunction was held before Judge Morris A. Soper, Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, October 18, 1919, and the injunction was dissolved.

If some future generation, living in a more happy and just social order, should establish a museum of our present industrial civilization, for its own edification and that of posterity, the above injunction by one "labor organization" to restrain through the courts of law another labor organization from soliciting members, will surely be entitled to a conspicuous place. It is one of the most freakish products of the deplorable conditions in the labor movement of our day.

The Federation pleaded with the court to make the injunction permanent. Its lawyer denounced us to the judge as an organization that is raising the workers' wages and oppressing the employers. But there was no permanent injunction.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor sustained a well deserved defeat and covered itself with disgrace.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Baltimore is steadily forging ahead. We have contractual relations with nearly all clothing manufacturers in the city.

How others see us in Baltimore is shown by an article from the Baltimore Sun of December 22, 1919. It was one of a series on Baltimore labor matters written by John W. Owens. We reproduce here in full the article dealing with our organization:

### Clothing Workers A Closely-Knit Power In City's Labor Circles

In one of the preceding articles it was said that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has only 9,000 or 10,000 members, is the most interesting and thought-provoking of all the labor bodies in the city. That is chiefly because it is a closely knit part of the most aggressive, the most tightly organized and probably the most ably led labor body in this country.

The local organization does not contribute power to the national body so much as it draws power from it. It goes without saying, of course, that the original power of the national body is drawn from the locals, but it seems to be the fact today that the ideas and the purposes of the national leaders dominate the thought and direct the movements of the local units with almost military authority, and it also seems to be a fact that in accepting this domination the local bodies have gained the means for victory after victory in their contests with employers.

In a sense there is no more need for writing about this organization from the standpoint of Baltimore labor conditions than there is of writing about the railroad brotherhoods. In both cases local action is largely incident to a national movement. But the case of the Amalgamated differs from that of the brotherhoods in that the employers of the Amalgamated labor are local people, their capital is mostly local capital, their future is bound up with the future of Baltimore, while the employers of the brotherhood labor are almost wholly railroads which are interstate or even national in their ownership and relationships.

With this statement of the reason why Baltimore has a direct local interest in the operations of the Amalgamated, which it has not in the operations of the Brotherhoods, it may as well be said now as later that there are well-informed men who believe that the leadership of the Amalgamated at the present time is just around the corner from the nationalization of the men's clothing industry, with the country practically in darkness as to what has happened and is happening. It is only an opinion, which may be, and doubtless will be, rejected by some of the employes, but some facts will be given which may speak for themselves.

Everyone recalls the big fight in labor circles in 1914, when a large body of clothing workers seceded from the American Federation of Labor at the meeting in Nashville. At bottom, the cause of the secession was that the clothing workers believed that the Federation was not on the job—that it was not promoting the development of the clothing workers' organization to the maximum. The expansion of the difference of opinion as to the success in organization rests principally in the fact that the Federation was moving ahead in its accustomed way, gaining a bit here and a bit there, but not evolving any "program" for labor, such as European labor knew, and as the world since has come to know.

Once separated from the Federation and organized on their own account into the existing Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the clothing workers speedily began functioning in the way their leaders conceived desirable. They began to get what they wanted and to get it quickly. The hours of labor have been reduced from a general 60-hour week—that is, a 10-hour day—to a 44-hour week, five days of eight hours and one of four. Time and one-half is paid for overtime. Wages are stated to have increased at least 100 per cent., co-incident with the reduction in working hours. In some cases, the Amalgamated people claim, wages have increased 200 per cent.

But the gaining of shorter hours and more pay is only an incident in the social significance of what the Amalgamated has accomplished. Working hours have decreased and wages have increased in other industries. One of the things of large significance in the Amalgamated achievements is that in shops in which Amalgamated workers are employed the control of the workers is divided between the employers and their agents, and the workers and their agents. A workman cannot be

discharged merely because the employer or his foreman does not like his manners or his looks. If a workman objects to being discharged he may appeal to what is known as a "trade board," and unless the action of the employer is sustained the workman is reinstated.

The trade board really is the heart and starting point of a system of joint control between employers and workers which has expanded rapidly. In Baltimore there is a trade board in each of the great factories employing Amalgamated labor. The employer names eight members; the workers in the factory name eight members, and there is one outside member—a sort of umpire. Jacob M. Moses, formerly a member of the State Senate and formerly Judge of the Juvenile Court, is the umpire in this city. The channels to this trade board are on the part of the employer, his superintendents and foremen, and on the part of the workers, their floor and department committees and union representatives. Each side has equal right to carry grievances to the trade board and only equal right.

If the employer, or his foreman, believes that a worker or the workers in a given group are not giving their best energy to their tasks, complaint may be made to the trade board against that worker or group. Evidence is submitted on both sides and a decision rendered. If it goes against the worker, or group, there must be speeding up—and the other workers are supposed to stimulate the speeding—or discharge of the indifferent worker or group is permitted. If the case goes against the employer the worker or group continues in the even tenor of its way. If the employer has dismissed the worker, he must be reinstated if he desires to be. On the other hand, if the workers have objections against the employer, they may initiate action and he and they must abide the decision.

All of these proceedings are subject to appeal, but naturally appeals are taken only in cases of great importance. The appeal is to a board of three—one representative of the Amalgamated, one representative of the employer and one umpire.

It may be said that the system put into the clothing factories by the Amalgamated only differs from systems effectuated by other bodies of organized labor in that it is more formal and operates more legalistically. The answer to that is that the achievement of this open recognition from the employers of a system of joint control of labor is a considerable advance over the catch-as-catch-can methods often used by other labor bodies in dealing with employers—is a considerable advance over the implied threat.

But this achievement with respect to individual plants is not the sum of the Amalgamated's work. It has brought about a condition lately in which a uniform wage scale is applied where possible in each city to all the great plants employing Amalgamated workers. In effect, the group of employers in Baltimore having Amalgamated labor deal with the representatives of Amalgamated labor in Baltimore. The thing is put on a community basis; it is socialized. That was not accomplished easily. Sidney Hillman, acting for the national body, and his aids went from city to city working out the plan.

That is not all. While bringing about a status in which the Amalgamated leaders of a city dealt as such with the employers in that city, a nation-wide agreement was reached for a five-months' term, to maintain

the conditions put into effect in December. The workers in no city may strike during that period; there shall be no disruption and no dislocation of industry. That is very good in itself, but it is a step toward standardizing conditions in the whole country, as they have been standardized in each city.

Having established joint control in each factory employing Amalgamated labor, having standardized conditions in each city, having made the standard in each city a part of a nation-wide five months' agreement between the Amalgamated and the employers of Amalgamated labor, having, in effect, brought the situation to the point where labor and employer are dealing across the table on a national basis, the next step of the Amalgamated quite easily may be this demand: That private ownership, as it exists now, with its profits, be eliminated completely, and that the owners be paid salaries for their services as managers and rentals upon their invested money.

Maybe that will be done and maybe it will not be done. It seems the next step. The Amalgamated has taken away from the owners all the usual powers of ownership except determination of general policy and profits. And, it may be said flatly, there are Amalgamated leaders who frankly say in private that this next step is what they have in mind.

Now, whether what has been done is wise or unwise, and whether what seems to be the probable next step is wise or unwise, is mainly a concern of the people of the whole country. But Baltimore has an especial interest in it, because its clothing factories, directly affected, constitute an important element of its industrial being, and because it has a body of labor which is a part of the national organization—and a part which takes orders from the national organization—that has been able within six years to win substantial domination of the industry in which its members are employed.

As to this city's relation to its members of this remarkable labor body, it is always to be borne in mind that there are only about 9,000 or 10,000—all members of one trade—as compared with a total body of workers in the city estimated at 140,000. So far as numbers go, the Amalgamated organization here is but a fraction. And its direct power within labor circles here is limited, because the scars remain from the secession fight of 1914. Bitter feeling exists between the local Amalgamated people, and the local Federation of Labor people. The latter call the Amalgamated rather harsh names; they say they are linked, behind the scenes, with the I. W. W. And the Amalgamated return the compliments with interest.

But what effect such a body as the Amalgamated will have upon the whole of Baltimore labor during a period of, say, 10 years, is something to think about. The purposes of the workers in the Amalgamated are not weakened by hope among a large number of their members of becoming employers. They are not individualistic. They are nearly all Jews from Eastern Europe, a very large part of them from Russia. They think of themselves as a working class, and a working class that always will be a working class, so their ambitions are to win benefits as such. They are a proletariat, and never expect to be anything else. They talk "working class solidarity." Theirs has been a fight against what they regard as the tyranny of capital, and they have brought it

something of the hatred of tyranny implanted in them during generations. All of which means that they are a definite, vital force operating upon the somewhat fluid minds of the balance of labor. No one can forecast what their influence upon the balance of labor is or will be during the next decade.

It is obvious that they have had remarkable leaders. It is reasonably certain that they will not fail to develop strong leaders as time passes. There are 9,000 or 10,000 in the Amalgamated in Baltimore now. It is impossible to gather together that number of Jews without finding a number having strong minds and intense emotions. In the Amalgamated group they will be fired with zeal to improve the conditions of their class. Go out to the night classes at Johns Hopkins. There will be found in the classes studying sociology, philosophy or political economy no carpenters, no steel riveters, no printers, but nine chances out of ten there will be found two or three keen-faced Jews who work by day in the big clothing factories.

# PROTECTION FOR THE CLOTHING WORKERS IN PHILADELPHIA

We reported to the Baltimore Convention how the Philadelphia clothing workers rose from their knees. A working organization was established in that city; the forty-eight hour week replaced the shorter week; wages were improved and industrial conditions generally made more tolerable.

# Manufacture of Uniforms For The American Army

During the months following that Convention, a great deal of attention was given to the working conditions in the Army uniform factories. We reported two years ago that in Philadelphia "our organization has reached an understanding with the Cloakmakers' Union, which is a branch of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for full and complete cooperation. Both organizations have jointly maintained a Uniform labor department, with a labor bureau and a staff of Business Agents and clerical workers. Through that joint department both organizations have worked harmoniously to organize the uniform workers and protect their interests to the fullest extent.

It might be noted that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The two organizations missed no opportunity to serve the workers in the Uniform factories.

The Government had laid down definite labor standards for Army clothing. We saw to it that the workers in all Uniform factories were fully informed as to their rights under these standards, and kept constant watch to make sure that the standards were not evaded. The uniform workers benefited greatly by the Union's vigilance. It was then that the fact was brought home to them with particular force that if they organize with their fellow workers in the industry they may permanently improve their condition and enjoy some measure of true industrial democracy.

May 9, on the eve of our last Convention, the firm of Wanamaker & Brown, manufacturers of Army uniforms, locked out its three hundred employees because of their membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The firm called it a "reorganization of its plant." Prof. Ripley informed the firm of the Government's rules in the premises. After a conference on May 14, lasting five hours, the firm agreed to abide by the decision of the Administration of Labor Standards. B. Karp, representative of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the Uniform Department, was appointed to represent the Amalgamated in the negotiations with the firm. May 23, Prof. Ripley issued the following decision:

Disregarding minor details, the matter in controversy concerns the status of the Board and Wallace Street plant as an open or union shop. A decision based upon sheer technicalities would have to be rendered in conformity with the principles laid down by the Federal War Labor Conference Board on March 29th, proclaimed by the President as in effect on the 8th of April, 1918. This policy, briefly, affirms (a) the right of all workers to organize and to bargain collectively; (b) that no discrimination whatsoever nor discharge for legitimate trade union activities shall take place; but (c) that the workers in their own part are not to use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join the union or fellow employes to bargain collectively. An attempt to render a decision in this case upon the basis of the foregoing principles would necessarily involve the taking of much evidence under oath and a protracted trial covering the events of the past few months. The evidence is conflicting both as to the status of the shop before and after the recent termination of employment, and also as to the exact date when the re-organization of this shop occurred as related to the dates on which the government's war labor policy, above mentioned, was definitely adopted. Such a decision upon sheer technicalities would be difficult to reach; and what is of equal importance, it would deal entirely with events of the past. It would be in no sense constructive so far as the re-establishment of friendly working relationships is concerned. For those two reasons your arbitrator based his decision not upon any attempt to define the precise rights of the employer or the worker, but a settlement is proposed which most nearly accords with what seem to be the general circumstances involved. Upon this basis, assuming that the former workers have already been reinstated without prejudice as verbally agreed, the following recommendations are made:

1st. Inasmuch as it appears that a majority of the workers are at this time members of the union, and that at least a partial recognition of this organization has been accorded at this shop, and that complete recognition has already been agreed upon as to the Vine Street plant, all questions of shop management, so far as they affect the members of the organization, shall be adjusted in conference between Mr. B. Carp of the Amalgamated Workers' Union and such representatives of the firm as it shall choose to designate. As to the non-union workers in this shop, it is recommended that they, if they so desire, shall be afforded an opportunity either to authorize this representative to speak for them or else to elect an independent shop chairman who shall co-operate with Mr. Carp in dealing with the firm. The failure of these non-union members to appoint another representative shall be taken to mean that there is tacit consent to permit all such matters of shop management to be considered by the aforesaid representative.

2nd. The above mentioned arrangement for intercourse between the workers and the firm shall not be held to limit the right of the latter to employ and to discharge workers for any reason other than in relation to legitimate union activities. But it is earnestly recommended that, while this right to employ and discharge is in the interest of efficiency and discipline reserved to the firm, the employer shall, wherever possible, confer with the representatives of the workers and act jointly with them in the maintenance of efficiency and discipline.

3rd. The foregoing arrangement shall be effective for a period of four weeks from date of this decision, and it shall at that time, unless modified at the request of either party, thereupon become effective indefinitely,—that is to say, subject to termination upon due notice.

4th. Your arbitrator further recommends that in the application of this award it be administered in a mutual spirit of accommodation, recognizing, on the one hand, the right of the worker to some voice in the determination of the conditions under which he is contentedly to work, and on the other, the interest of the employer,—which is, at the same time, the interest of the worker,—that is, that production shall go forward with the least possible friction and the highest degree of efficiency. To meet upon this common ground of efficiency in output, that is to say, freedom from unnecessary harassment of interruption concerning matters of detail, cannot but be productive of better results than seem to have been obtained in the past.

#### ADVANCE of August 23, 1918, published the following report:

The great military uniform factories of the A. B. Kirschbaum Company and J. H. Susskind & Sons of Philadelphia, employing together about 4,500 workers, have been won by the organization campaign of the Uniform Department conducted jointly by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union. The victory was completed last Friday, August 16, when both firms signed agreements for collective bargaining which provide for the establishment of the 48 hour week and for substantial wage increases to meet the increased cost of living.

These are the greatest single victories won by the Uniform Department since its establishment to guard against demoralization of the clothing industry by profiteers. In addition to these victories, the Uniform Department also won agreements from the military uniform firms of Susskind & Levy, 100 Race Street, and Lipka, Cohen & Company, 22d and Arch Streets, each employing about 150 clothing workers.

The Susskind firm is one of the largest manufacturers of military uniforms in the world, employing about 3,000 men and women. The Kirschbaum factory has given the organizers a long and determined struggle, because of the hostility of the firm to organization of the workers. The victory in the uniform shops has aroused the workers in the Kirschbaum civilian clothing shops, and they are preparing to better their own wages and working conditions through a collective bargaining arrangement with the firm.

A strike at the two Kirschbaum military uniform factories was averted Friday by the signing of the agreement by the firm late in the afternoon. The agreement was approved at a meeting of the workers at 5:30 o'clock Friday afternoon in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 North Hall Street. The Kirschbaum agreement provides:

- 1. Forty-eight hours constitute a week's work.
- 2. In case overtime is requested by the manufacturer, it shall be paid for at the rate of time and half time.
- 3. That a shop committee and shop chairman shall be recognized officially by the firm as representing the people of the shop.
- 4. Shop chairman and shop committee shall have the privilege to do all their active union work in the shop except during the posted hours.
  - 5. No discrimination for union activity.
  - 6. No discharges without sufficient cause.
- 7. In case any grievances arise in the shop or any other misunderstanding, it shall be taken up by the shop chairman and shop committee collectively and not with that individual or section that may be concerned with such grievances or misunderstanding.
- 8. The right for all the people to belong to the union without being intimidated by the firm, foreman or any of its agents.
  - 9. No subcontracting to be allowed in the shop.

- 10. All subcontracting existing now in the shop to be abolished immediately.
- 11. Each employe working in the shop should know his price as settled collectively by the committee and under no circumstances to work under someone else on the same operation.
- 12. This above settlement and agreement was reached between the committee on the one side and A. B. Kirschbaum Co. on the other, with fu'll understanding and in order to agree and co-operate fully with the official reports of the War Labor Conference Board and the National War Labor Program, commonly known as the Taft-Walsh Program, dated Washington, March 29th, 1918, extracts of which are herewith attached.

The signatures of the following members of the committee representing workers of the shops are attached to the agreement:

J. Bossen, N. Sitkoff, W. Neidus, L. Segal, J. Rosen, H. Levin, S. Kravitz, F. Paglia and L. De Flanees.

All details of the Susskind agreement were not arranged until Monday, because of the absence of one of the members of the firm from the city. The important clauses of the agreement follow:

- 1. Forty-eight hours shall constitute a week's work.
- 2. In case overtime is needed week workers to be paid at time and a half.
- 3. Shop chairman and shop committees shall be recognized officially by the firm, as representing the union and the people of the shop.
- 4. The shop chairman and shop committees shall have the privilege to do all the active union work in the shop on their own time.
  - 5. No discrimination for union activities.
  - 6. No discharge without any sufficient reason.
- 7. In case any grievance arises in the shop or any other misunderstanding, it shall be taken up by the shop chairman and shop committees collectively, and not with that individual or section that may be concerned with such grievance or misunderstanding.
- 8. The right for all the people in the shop to belong to the union without being intimidated by the firm, foreman or any of its agents.
  - 9. No subcontracting to be allowed in the shop.
- 10. Everyone that is working in the shop should know his price as settled collectively by the committee, and under no circumstances to work under someone else of the same operation.
  - 11. No strike or stoppages to be made by the union against the firm.
- 12. No lockout or stoppages to be made by the firm against the union people of the shop.
- 13. In case the chairman or committees cannot adjust the prices or any other grievance of the shop, it shall be taken up by the officials of the union, and shall be mutually settled with the firm without causing any stoppages of the shop, the same as being practiced in the 12th & Race Streets shop.

The Kirschbaum Co. did not adhere to the agreement and brought about a strike of its employees.

## ADVANCE of September 6, 1918, contained the following item:

The A. B. Kirschbaum Company, whose workers were forced to rebel against brutality in the factory now hopes to break their spirit by persecution. As a result General Organizers Kleinman, De Luca and Madii were arrested Tuesday, September 3, in front of the factory. They were released under \$400.00 bail each.

That the arrests had the effect of still more firing the enthusiasm of the workers, was shown by the remarkable mass meeting held by them immediately after the arrests. All workers were present and pledged themselves by a unanimous vote to stand solidly together in the defence of their rights.

The Kirschbaum employees include men and women of different nationalities and also a number of colored workers. They are all standing loyally together and eagerly learning the lesson of working class solidarity.

#### ADVANCE of September 13, 1918:

The reign of terror at the great military uniform factory of the A. B. Kirschbaum Company in Philadelphia is over. No longer will union members be threatened with lynching and other forms of violent death. Shop chairmen and shop committee members are safe from attack in the shop, and efforts of the Philadelphia Uniform Department to continue organization work will not be interfered with by gangsters and hostile police.

The campaign of terrorism was ended last Friday by Prof. William Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, after a hearing in the Federal Building, at which testimony was given by workers of most revolting instances of brutality, persecution and oppression. Prof. Ripley ordered the firm to abide by the agreement which it made with a committee of the organized workers, and appointed Judge Jacob M. Moses, of Baltimore, as arbitrator for future disputes.

The hearing was held by Prof. Ripley to determine the cause of the cessation of Work on Army uniforms on September 5. Many witnesses described the attack on J. Bassen, shop chairmen, by two sub-contractors. Bassen was so seriously injured that he was taken to a hospital. A doctor was present at the hearing to tell of the extent of his injuries. Immediately after the attack on Bassen, who was attempting to enforce the agreement which called for abolition of sub-contracting, work was stopped and a committee was sent to Prof. Ripley with complaints against the terrorism in this factory.

Bassen said he joined the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America because he realized that only through organization would the workers be able to deal effectively with this firm. Immediately after the workers organized, he said, the firm began to discriminate against those who were active in the Union.

Every interference was made with collective bargaining, he charged. When he asked for a conference with the firm, he was first told to come alone. He refused, demanding to appear with a committee. Then the firm limited the committee to two workers. Bessen came to the conference with six workers, and was warned by members of the firm "to take care or something would happen." The "something" did happen when two sub-contractors, armed with knives and blackjacks, attacked him in the shop.

Bassen testified that a member of the firm offered him \$500 and a high wage if he would quit as shop chairman. He said he told the man who made the offer that he would not betray the workers who elected him shop chairman.

A number of witnesses testified to the continuance of sub-contracting in violation of the firm's agreement with the workers. A foreman of the shop admitted that this evil was in existence.

Men and women witnesses testified that foremen and members of the firm attempted to terrorize them by charging them with being pro-German when they organized, although organization was specifically guaranteed by the agreement. Threats of lynching were also made, the workers told Prof. Ripley.

That terrorism extended beyond the factory walls was shown by witnesses who told of the arrest of Amalgamated organizers in the vicinity of the factory building by employes of the firm who had no authority from the police to make such arrests. General Organizers Kleinman, De Luca and Madii were among those arrested.

The excuse given by a plain clothes policeman for arrests of Union organizers was that they were violating the city ordinance prohibiting throwing paper on the streets when they gave cards of handbills to workers.

"It is a question of law," said Prof. Ripley, "whether the right granted by the government to the trade unions to peacefully prosecute their business by handing out a call or peacefully picketing does not conflict with the city ordinance and whether the Government attitude does not have precedence. Until this can be settled by a court ruling, I will rule that the union has the right to use this method."

A girl testified that she was the victim of a frameup after she was chosen section chairman. She testified that she saw one of the foremen place a piece of damaged work on her bench. Later she was accused of being the one responsible for the faulty workmanship. She also testified that she had heard one of the foremen telephone to a local draft board and order it to put a striker in the front line trenches, as he had quit his job. This worker, whose final classification card indicated that he was in Class 2D, showed his notice to appear before the draft board for examination.

President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at the hearing, denounced this persecution of men of draft age. He pointed out to Prof. Ripley that this procedure was in violation of President Wilson's proclamation and the policy of Secretary of War Baker.

The hall in which the hearing was held was crowded, by hundreds of men and women from the Kirschbaum factory. They applauded President Hillman for ten minutes when he arose to plead their case before the Government Administrator.

President Hillman declared that the disavowal by the firm of knowledge of the reign of terror in the factory did not release them from responsibility. He insisted that the firm was responsible for the acts of the subordinates, who were agents of the firm. He argued that it evidently was the policy of the firm, as the subordinates were naturally taking such action as would find favor in the eyes of their superiors.

President Hillman assured Prof. Ripley that the workers were willing to abide by every decision of Prof. Ripley as Administrator or of Judge Moses as chairman of the trade boards created by the agreements between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the firms of Henry Sonneborn & Company and Strouse Bros. of Baltimore.

Judge Moses, at the conclusion of the hearing, said that, although very much occupied with affairs in Baltimore, would devote all possible time to the adjustment of differences at the Kirschbaum factory.

Turning to the members of the firm present, Judge Moses said that he was confident that the collective bargaining arrangement would be of benefit to the firm, for he had personally seen the benefits that accrued to the big Baltimore firms which have entered into collective bargaining agreements with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The following decision by Dr. Malcolm Keir in the matter of a complaint by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America against the Theo. F. Baulig Co., of Philadelphia, will throw additional light on the conditions in the Army clothing factories and how we protected the workers:

- 1. Complaint against your firm for unfair dealing with labor, violation of contractual provisions and disregard of the rulings of the National War Labor Board (often referred to as the Taft-Walsh Board) has been filed in this office by individuals among your employes and by their representatives. As a result of this complaint the writer made an investigation of your practices. His findings make it necessary to call sharply to your attention the following:
- 2. Clause twelve (12) of your contracts provides for a basic eight hour day with a payment of time and one half for overtime and a penalty for violation of this provision. The evidence seems to point to the fact that you have frequently worked your people beyond the eight hours stipulated and have never rewarded the extra time by extra pay as provided in your contract. You are hereby warned that you must strictly adhere to the clause cited or render yourself liable to the penalty imposed for

non-observance. Furthermore, the State law of Pennsylvania provides that women shall not be employed for more than ten hours per day nor after ten (10) P. M. at night. Violation of this law renders you liable to prosecution. It is reported that you have employed women for more than ten hours per day and have invited them to use your equipment after ten o'clock at night and have asked them to work in excess of the legal fifty hours per week. All such practices must cease at once and you are liable to punishment for those already committed.

- 3. Clause twenty-four (24) of your contract forbids subcontracting, sub-manufacturing or indirect employment of any kind. Your arrangements with Izzy Gubernalti for the making of buttonholes, and Morris for pressing and finishing, are therefore illegal and must cease at once, or you render yourself liable to cancellation of your contracts.
  - 4. Clauses one (1) and three (3) of the Policies of the National War Labor read:
- (1) The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.
- (2) Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

Your discharge of Sarah Tatz, Rosa Skolnick, Celia Rutman, Beckie Berger, and Joe Orinsky because of their activities in promoting trade union interests in a legitimate way is contrary to the letter and spirit of these clauses. Your contention that these people left your employ of their own accord is not borne out by the facts. Rosa Skolnick made the attempt to return and was flatly refused work, while your violent, blasphemous language to Sarah Tatz, ordering her from the premises, could in no way be construed as a voluntary departure on her part. You are, therefore, required to take back persons named above and to pay them for the time lost. When their work was on the piece basis you are required to pay them for the time lost at the rate which they averaged per week for the five weeks preceding discharge and where their work was on the time basis you are required to pay for the full time lost.

- 5. Do not misunderstand the immediately foregoing provisions. You are not compelled to recognize unions nor to operate a closed shop, but you must not interfere in any way with legitimate trade union activities nor deny by any means the rights of your employes to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively. The employment of men known as 'strong-arm men,' 'gunmen,' 'gorillas' (guerillas) to coerce your employes or to prevent their legitimate efforts to organize themselves is prohibited by the clauses quoted above.
- 6. The Industrial Relations Branch expects immediate compliance with the provisions of this letter.

By authority of the Acting Quartermaster General.

Industrial Relations Branch, Clothing and Equipage Division,

By DR. MALCOLM KEIR, Labor Expert.

With the end of the war, came also the end of whatever benefits the clothing workers had derived from the Government's specified labor conditions. The heads of the labor hating employers were again free to revive their old exploitation policies. But the seeds of labor organization sown by us did not fail to germinate. The heretofore unapproachable factories now had members of the organization working in them and carrying the message of Unionism to their shopmates. The spirit of Unionism could no longer be crushed by discharges, as there were too many to be discharged. The workers had learned their lesson and were profiting by it.

The Inauguration of the Forty-Four Hour Week

The outcome of the forty-four hour week contest in New York gave new impetus to the campaign for the shorter week that had been carried on in Philadelphia for some time. There was no longer any doubt as to the result. That was determined by New York for all clothing markets,

As the Organization's propaganda for the shorter week was developing and a demand was about to be made for it upon the employers, the latter made a "voluntary" announcement in the public press that the forty-four hour week would begin May 1, 1919. The following firms signed that announcement:

Arnold Loucheim & Co.
B. A. Bittan
H. Daroff & Son
H. Freeman & Son
I. Harris Sons
Jacob Reed's Sons
Meyer Speiser & Co.
R. Jacobs
Liveright, Greenwald & Co.
Makransky & Son
Samuel Moldower & Co.
Penn Clothing Co.
Snellenburg Clo. Co.
Weiner & Poliner

S. Bacharach & Co.
M. Charlop & Son
Dreyfus & Lang
Sol Glaser & Co.
Pincus Bros.
Rosenblum & Lamp
M. Swartz & Son
A. B. Kirschbaum Co.
Lisberger & Wise
L. H. Manko & Co.
Oppenheimer, Greenbaum & Co.
Schneyer & Mesirou
Wanamaker & Brown

While the announced "gift" for the occasion of Labor's International Holiday was appreciated, the clothing workers of Philadelphia did not agree to delay the 44-hour week so much beyond its inauguration in other markets. The Organization, therefore, made a demand for the shorter week to begin Monday, March 31.

On that day there was a general walkout in the industry. One day was enough to bring about a settlement for the bulk of the membership. Very soon settlements were made for all others. Wages were adjusted in accordance with the changed hours.

The forty-four hour week was given by the Amalgamated to all the clothing workers in Philadelphia, organized and unorganized.

Proceeding with its regular routine of looking after the workers' interests, the Philadelphia Organization adjusted numerous industrial disputes and secured substantial wage increases for the employees of all such firms with which it has official relations. In the absence of such relations, the workers either received no increase in wages or resorted to strikes in order to get it.

### Bogus Industrial Democracy

There is in Philadelphia one firm which holds the palm for oppressing labor. That is the firm of A. B. Kirschbaum Company, already mentioned above in connection with the manufacture of uniforms. It is one of the largest in the city.

All employers seek the best advantages for themselves in their dealings with labor. Under the prevailing industrial system that is per-

fectly natural and legitimate, as it is natural and legitimate for labor to seek the greatest advantages for itself. Most employers, if not all. prefer to have relations with their employees individually rather than collectively, just as most workers, if not all, prefer collective relations, But there are some employers who will resort to the most primitive and oppressive measures in order to prevent their employees from exercising the very right of organization which they claim for themselves as free American citizens. Among the best known methods for that end are the system of espionage, which includes the policy of blacklisting, and socalled welfare work. The former is universally recognized as illegitimate and brutal, and is denounced openly by the very employers who practice it secretly. The latter has all appearances of uplifting generosity on the part of the employer, and finds commendation among some of the best elements in society. But the "civilized" "welfare" system is, if anything, more injurious to the workers than the savage spying and blacklisting system. A worker will always resent spying and all the viciousness that goes with it. If unable to assert himself, he will bear the moral anguish and submit to the humiliation, but in his soul a fire of indignation will be kindled. He will always be conscious of the violation to his human dignity and will some time stand up like a man and vindicate his rights and feelings.

It is otherwise with "welfare" work. "Welfare" is a deadening anesthetic. It is Delilah's method of robbing Samson of his power. Nay, it is a great deal worse. It puts the employer's collar on the worker. It destroys the self-respecting manhood and womanhood in the American citizen. It chains him to the factory not only as a producer of goods but also in every other respect. Even his recreation is handed to him at the factory, in the factory atmosphere, and with his employer's label. Under the welfare system the worker is a "factory hand" even while singing or dancing. Some of the "welfare" departments are very elaborate. In one case an employer showed a visitor his factory library. Explaining to him the "advantages" of the library to the workers, he added that that enabled the employer to control the workers' reading. The greatest vice of the welfare system is its degenerating influence. It lulls the workers into a state of moral unconsciousness and mental servility, which, in our industrial scheme, is very essential to physical enslavement. The "welfare" employer will exhibit a great deal of impatience and indignation at the mention of the existence of classes in society. "There are no classes in this country; all are equal; all are alike; all have the same opportunities." But what does the "welfare" system mean if not a loud proclamation of the existence of classes? message of the "welfare" system is that Mr. Employer is providing "welfare" for Mr. Employee because the latter is financially unable to provide it for himself. Does that deny or affirm the existence of classes? And the fact that "welfare" is always handed by the employer to the worker and never by the worker to the employer accentuates the other fact that one of the two classes, the existence of both of which is emphasized by the welfare system, is an under dog, kept down by the other class.

The labor movement is the sworn foe of all conditions that are making for differentiation in economic classes. Its ultimate objective is the abolition of all such conditions and with them the classes. Modern civilization and economic classes should be mutually exclusive. The labor

movement has always opposed the "welfare" system. Resentment against the degrading effect of the system is the compelling motive of the opposition. The labor movement takes the position that when a worker is through with his day's work he should be permitted to utilize his leisure as his heart may desire. Let him select such entertainment for himself and his family as he may wish. Let him read his own books or those furnished by the community. Let him be free from the searching eye of the employer or his agent as soon as his daily wage earning task is completed.

Under pressure of the growing influence of the labor movement, the "welfare" system has been extended to include "industrial democracy". The purpose of this innovation is to give the workers the form of a labor organization without its substance. This sort of "industrial democracy" converts the employer into a ventriloquist. He puts the dummy on his lap, pulls a string to make the artificial and lifeless thing move its limbs and create the illusion of acting and talking, while in reality it is the employer, or his "expert", that is speaking, with a disguised voice, of course. It was the growing and irrepressible spirit of organization among the workers that made the "industrial democracy" dummy so important. To facilitate the work of this fraud, it is wrapped in a cloak of "patriotism" by borrowing names and terms from our federal system of government. Thus there is a "House", a "Senate", a "Cabinet", and such other high sounding names that are popular in our political democracy. The workers are asked if they want "industrial democracy" and "justice" and a number of other beautiful words. And they are also asked to vote on those words, exactly as on a public Election Day when they cast their ballots for executives and legislators. When the "elections" are held and the "Senate" and the "House" and the "Cabinet" have acted, and the "citizens" of the plant have voted unanimously for "justice" for their factory, the workers find that they have been buncoed. "Industrial democracy" and "justice" in this sort of a factory are like the legend "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" on the portals of the French prison. They only serve to mock the sufferings of the inmates. They are adding insult to injury.

The Kirschbaum plant is a classic model of such a "welfare" and "democracy" factory. The workers were given "democracy" and potatoes at a low price but they were not allowed to organize, attend a Union meeting, or speak to a Union representative. All the "industrial democracy" in the factory, including the "Senate" and the "Cabinet" were unable to save the job for him who had been suspected of having committed any such act of "treason" to the employer. No Union organizer was able to get within blocks of the factory. That was forbidden territory. Only "industrial democrats" could enter upon it.

Such being the conditions, and having learned the value of organization during the uniform manufacturing period it is no wonder that in time a change came in the spirit of the workers in that factory. Once the spell of "democracy" and "justice" was broken, the workers found their way of coming in contact with the Union which led to a vigorous organizing campaign.

The Strike at A. B. Kirschbaum Co.

In the fall of 1919, the Joint Board of Philadelphia secured a wage increase of \$5 a week for all tailors and up to \$7.50 a week for all cutters. Like increases were received at that time by our members in all other markets.

The employees of A. B. Kirschbaum Co. made a similar demand and also insisted upon the right of collective bargaining. The firm met a committee of its employees and opened negotiations. At the beginning, some hope of success was held out for the workers but they lost patience as the negotiations were being repeatedly delayed and prolonged. The committee was promised a final reply for Monday, December 1, at 10 A. M. At the appointed time the committee met the firm but the conference was so protracted that the workers became suspicious and restless. Fearing that the firm was playing some trick on them and the committee, seven hundred employees quit work before the committee could report. The workers were later informed that the firm was willing to grant a raise of three dollars in wages but that it would not tolerate organization of the employees in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Those who had walked out on December 1 were later joined by many others.

The Kirschbaum Company has had the full support of the police and the "public press".

The police had established a "dead line" two blocks away from the factory. No pickets could enter that "danger zone." The pickets were subjected to a great deal of abuse and persecution. Arrests were frequently made. But terrorism by the police and private detectives and gunmen failed to break the strike. In spite of all efforts to create a stampede back to work there was an unbreakable solidarity on the picket line all along.

Private detectives came to the homes of the striking girls and women to threaten them with arrest and other horrors if they remained away from work. This form of intimidation was unsuccessful, as have been the attempts to terrorize the strikers by arrests.

Numerous strikers were arrested on framed up charges of "inciting to riot," "threatening to do bodily harm," and other offenses. General Organizer Miss La Gomina was arrested, charged with being a "suspicious character." She was put through a cruel third degree by the police on December 15, being kept in the police station all day for examination by the police. She was released on \$300 bond on December 16 and on the following day was discharged when her case was heard by a city magistrate.

The columns of the public press are open to the firm but not to the workers. The Philadelphia papers printed daily full page advertisements by the firm inviting tailors to come to work. The firm had many nice things to say about itself.

We prepared our own advertisement through which we wished to inform the public of the fact that the Kirschbaum employees were on strike and what our relations were with other clothing manufacturers. We were flatly denied space in the "public press". One publisher

cynically told us that he would publish our advertisement if it was approved by the Kirschbaum Company. If that is "fair play" and a "square deal" one may wonder what is "foul play" and a "raw deal."

The firm "did not know" of any strike in its plant in its utterances through the English press, but it betrayed considerable knowledge of it when it addressed its employees through the foreign language papers immediately after the strike began. The firm spoke thus:

"In order to avoid any misunderstanding the A. B. Kirschbaum Company announces that the wage increase they have recently granted to their employees is in no case less than 3 dollars, and in addition the employees will continue receiving all the bonuses they have received in the past. This offer is to all Kirschbaum shop employees, even to those who have not yet returned to work, but only if they return not later than Monday, December 8."

The advertisement must have been ineffective, for the firm followed it up with a long series of large advertisements in the English press. Here are some of them:

## A GOOD PLACE TO WORK

Better Pay, Shorter Hours, Steadier Employment and a Trade Easier to Learn than the average.

To men and women who have ever handled a needle or operated a sewing machine, the A. B. Kirschbaum Co., makers of fine clothes for men and young men, offers a real chance to get into the class of better-paid workers. Among the many good things about a job here at the Kirschbaum shops are

1. Steady year-round work at good pay. 2. Bonuses for loyalty and length of service. 3. Additional bonuses for good work. 4. A 44-hour week—8 A. M. to 5 P. M. with every Saturday afternoon off. 5. Industrial democracy—a voice for every worker in fixing working conditions. 6. Well-lighted, well ventilated, sanitary shops. 7. Meals served at cost in our own restaurant. 8. Flour, potatoes, canned goods and other necessities bought in carload lots and sold to workers at cost. 9. Free medical attention and sick benefits.

Come in today and talk it over. Ask all the questions you like.

A. B. KIRSCHBAUM COMPANY

Broad and Carpenter Streets, Employment Department

## A JOB-AND A SAY!

Here Are the Kirschbaum Workers Voting 44-Hour Week for Entire Plant

Under the Kirschbaum plan of Industrial Democracy, representatives elected by the workers meet every Tuesday to pass upon matters affecting their welfare. One of the important acts was to adopt a resolution extending the 44-hour week to clerical workers. This was at once approved by the Cabinet. Employes in the Kirschbaum shops were already working on the 44-hour basis. Through their representatives, chosen by secret ballot, every Kirschbaum worker has a definite say as to hours, wages, health, safety, education, and all other matters of mutual interest. This—the good wages and the ideal working conditions—make a job well worth while in the Kirschbaum Shops. Do you want to be one of us?

Men and women! If you have ever handled a needle or sewing machine, come

in and talk it over.

A Good Place To Work

# A. B. KIRSCHBAUM COMPANY Makers of Fine Clothes for Men and Young Men Broad and Carpenter Streets

Experienced Tailors—Men and Women—Wanted for the Kirschbaum Shops HIGH PAY—LOW EXPENSE!—MEALS AND PROVISIONS AT COST—

## HELP IN BUYING HOMES

A Job in the Kirschbaum plant not only increases your earnings—it reduces living costs. Here are a few things that help our workers *keep* their pay: Our own restaurant serves luncheon at cost. Our co-operative store gives potatoes, flour, canned goods, etc., to our workers at carload price. Employes are aided in buying homes. As a result, a remarkably large number of Kirschbaum workers have good bank balances to their credit.

Good wages—three bonuses—a forty-four hour week—steady year-round work. Come in and talk it over.

A. B. KIRSCHBAUM COMPANY
Makers of Fine Clothes for Men and Young Men
Broad and Carpenter Streets

## DO YOU WANT ONE OF THEM?

And a 44-Hour-A-Week Job? With Steady Work the Year Round? Here are three typical pay envelopes issued last week to operators in the daylight shops of A. B. Kirschbaum Company, makers of fine clothes for men and young

men. They show that clothes-making—in the Kirschbaum Shops—is a trade which

offers opportunities far greater than the average.

The first envelope went to a girl who has just completed her sixth month. The second was received by another girl, a Kirschbaum worker a little more than three years. The third shows the weekly earnings of a man who has worked here a little less than six years. Each marks a stage in the steady advancement that skill, diligence and loyalty surely bring to a Kirschbaum worker.

Kirschbaum workers can save more of their earnings than workers in most other lines. They get meals at cost in the Kirschbaum restaurant. They can buy flour, pototoes, canned goods, etc., at wholesale prices in the Kirschbaum co-operative store.

Do you earn as much? As easily? If you have ever handled a needle or a sewing machine come in Monday and talk it over.

## A. B. KIRSCHBAUM COMPANY Broad and Carpenter Streets

IMPORTANT NOTICE—For the convenience of those who cannot call at any other time, the Employment Office will remain open from 1 P. M. to 5 P. M. every Saturday.

The above advertisements show what frantic efforts the company was making to secure both experienced workers and learners.

The advertisements in the foreign language papers, read by the workers immediately affected, contained matter that the advertisements in the English papers did not contain. In the foreign language advertisements the Company asks the workers who refuse to return:

"Can the radical element give to the workers more than the Company does?

"Can the radical element give to the workers as much as the Company is at all times willing to do for them?

"Will the radical element provide employment for the workers when business will again be poor or hard times will come?"

On March 28 the firm was still looking for help to fill the places of the strikers, as the following ad unmistakably shows:

Owing to the Expansion of our business we can use a number of FINISH PRESSERS FOR SACK COATS

EXCEPTIONAL OPENINGS FOR MEN EXPERIENCED IN FINISH PRESSING
HIGH PAY AT PIECE AND WEEK WORK RATES
44-HOUR WEEK, CLOSING SATUDAY AT 12 O'CLOCK
BONUSES FOR LOYALTY AND EFFICIENCY

FOODSTUFFS SOLD IN OUR COMMISSARY AT CARLOAD PRICES
SANITARY DAYLIGHT SHOPS AND BEST WORKING CONDITIONS
We have shops Both South and North of Market Street—Easy to Reach by All Car Lines
A. B. KIRSCHBAUM COMPANY

Broad and Carpenter Streets

The NATION (New York) of February 28, 1920, published the following letter:

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir:—Opponents of labor have been trying to confuse trade union efforts to improve working conditions with revolution. They have succeeded—in the Philadelphia Press.

Workers in Kirschbaum's, one of the largest men's clothing shops in the city, have been on strike since December first. The issue is the most rudimentary question of wages and collective bargaining. In November, when the union shops won a five dollar increase without a strike, these poorly paid unorganized workers appointed a committee to represent them and asked for the same advance. The firm refused to meet this committee and ignored the demand. As discontent rose under this treatment, the workers, mostly Italians, turned for help to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. For two weeks the union held back the thoroughly aroused men and women, while it tried further negotiations with the firm. Finally the workers struck. Within a week the firm announced a three-dollar increase and restated its intention never to permit its workers to organize. Eighty per cent of the workers are still out after seven weeks.

Sixty-one workers have been arrested since December 1, most of them on the uncertain charge of "threats." None have been tried, although some of them have been given to understand that the cases against them will be dropped if they go back to work. Girls, fourteen and fifteen years old, who were earning \$8 a week, have been set upon by mounted police; all picketing has been forcibly prevented. Policemen have even refused the workers entry to their own hall when, at 6.30 in the morning, they began to assemble there preliminary to picketing.

This is usual enough. But the peculiarities of the Kirschbaum case are two. First Mr. Kirschbaum has been loud in preaching what he calls "industrial democracy." He established a "Senate" among his workers, a co-operative shop, a cut-price restaurant. But he did not pay his workers well, and he would not let them organize as they wished.

Second, although the Philadelphia papers have all carried display advertisements calling for workers at Kirschbaum's, representing the conditions of work there as ideal, but not mentioning the strike, every paper in the city has refused a paid advertisement setting forth "What Kirschbaum's Employees Want." This advertisement mentioned the success of union shops in other cities and remarked mildly that "Mr. Kirschbaum's employees . . . are asking for an increase in wages in order to meet the high cost of living and the right to maintain an organization of their own choosing. The workers are not satisfied with an organization framed for them." A contract was signed at \$1,500 to run this advertisement in three leading papers; the day before it was to appear the union was notified that the contract was cancelled.

Newspaper men in Philadelphia frankly admit that the deliberate policy of their papers is to close their columns to even conservative union news, in the belief that they thus discourage strikes. No labor news is printed at all. Clearly this is a dangerous policy. So far the result of this policy of "discouraging labor agitation," as they call it, has been, not to discourage these workers, new as they are to organization, and just beginning to reach out toward the simplest economic thoughts, but to develop an utter cynicism toward the press and the other influences which they find against them.

Philadelphia, January 22

PAULINE CLARKE.

Getting no relief through its advertisements in the daily press, the Company turned to the movie screen, but the motion picture operator refused to act as a solicitor of scabs.

The following from THE SURVEY (New York) of February 28, 1920, tells how that happened:

## INTER-UNION COOPERATION

An advertisement for strikebreakers by A. B. Kirschbaum & Company, manufacturers of men's clothing, which was prepared for exhibition in the moving picture houses of Philadelphia, was prevented from being shown by the action of organized moving picture operators. The picture operators voted at a union meeting not to handle the advertisements. That some of the slides themselves met with rough usage is testified by the cracks in the one which is reproduced herewith. This latest example of censorship by organized labor recalls the refusal of union printers in Boston to work on an issue of *Life* and the effective protest of Seattle printers against a violent anti-union advertisement.

The action of the moving picture operators is one incident in a long controversy be tween the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Kirschbaum & Company, the largest men's cothing house in Philadelphia, and practically the last stronghold of anti-unionism in the clothing trades. The workers struck on December 1, demanding union recognition and higher wages. The moving picture operators were not the first who censored advertisements in connection with the controversy, according to the union. Since the beginning of the strike the company has been running in the Philadelphia newspapers appeals for workers which portrayed in glowing colors the advantages of employment at Kirschbaum's. The union prepared answers to these advertisements. These described at some length the system of industrial government, under the joint control of the employers and the union, which has been set up in New York, Chicago, Baltimore and other clothing centers. (See the SURVEY for September 13, 1919.) They referred to industrial experts of note, such as Professor Earl Dean Howard, Professor W. M. Leiserson, and Colonel Keppele Hall, who are engaged in the administration of this industrial government. They contrasted the harmony prevailing under this system with the state of conflict at Kirschbaum's. They stated the demands of the workers for "an increase in wages in order to meet the higher cost of living, and the right to maintain an organization of their own choosing." These statements have not appeared in Philadelphia papers. Union representatives assert that when they were offered as advertisements to all the Failadelphia newspapers they were refused. They say that in one case a contract was signed at \$1500 to run the advertisement in three leading papers, and the day before it was to appear the union was notified that the contract was cancelled. If this is the policy of Philadelphia newspapers, and it seems to be thoroughly in accord with the general labor policy of the controlling elements in Pennsylvania, it is in striking contrast with that of leading New York papers, which printed full-page advertisements of both employers and the union in the recent controversy between the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

What Kirschbaum & Company offers, as over against the system of joint control over conditions of labor that obtains in union shops in the industry, is an elaborate bonus system, numerous welfare features, and a company-installed shop committee. There are bonuses for loyalty, length of service and production, the total amounting to a minimum of 13 per cent. The company serves meals to employes at low rates, and buys flour, potatoes, canned goods, etc., in carload lots and sells them to workers at cost. Employes receive medical attention and sick benefits. A shop committee was installed last June, which has power to "make recommendations on all questions relating to working conditions, education and other similar matters of mutual interest to the employes and the management." All these devices are familiar in other industries, and employers assert that they offer to employes more advantages than unionism. It will be interesting to see if they win out in an industry as strongly organized as the men's clothing trade.

The status of the controversy is that after eleven weeks no settlement has been offered. According to the union, the great majority of strikers are still out, but most of them have obtained other positions. The union asserts that with its present employes Kirschbaum & Company is getting only 30 per cent production, and that the firm has been unable to get work done outside because in all union shops there are men watching who know the materials and patterns used by the company and who can prevent this work being done. That the firm is indeed in straits for workers is witnessed by its continued advertisements, and especially by the motion picture appeals which did not reach the public.

The firm sought to have its work done by members of the Amalgamated in Philadelphia and other cities not under its own work tickets, of course. In every case that our members' suspicion was aroused, the work was rejected until an investigation was made. Where the suspicion was founded, the work was never touched again by the workers.

The Company also attempted to get some of its work made in a cloak factory in Cleveland, but found that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union refused to lend itself to the firm's strike-breaking schemes.

# Bonus System Condemned By The Government

Inasmuch as the Company's advertisements emphasize its payment of bonuses it might be of interest to note the fact that the Government has repeatedly condemned the bonus system. In a decision rendered in the case of Cohen and Goldman, New York, Prof. Ripley said:

Complaint in this case is brought by the workers against a so-called bonus system employed in the cutting room upon Government work. Under this system the cutters were paid a certain sum on a time basis, regardless of performance up to a certain point; but it was provided that for all work in excess of that stipulated amount, a piece rate addition was paid. The purpose of this plan obviously was to stimulate production, by giving a reward for an output in excess of a certain standard fixed in advance. In other words, this was virtually a piece work system drafted upon a week work basis, which operated powerfully in favor of speedy production. The workers complained, in the first place, that the limit at which the bonus began was set so abnormally high that while many might strive to attain it, relatively few would be capable of exceeding it. Secondly, the objection was urged that the speeding up plan was not only wasteful of material and harmful to quality, but that it was exhausting to those who were employed; as to the bonus system under other agencies of the Government created in connection with the conduct of the war, the Shipbuilding Adjustment Board

has virtually forbidden all such incentives to speed; the War Labor Board, notably in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Company, directed that the bonus system "should either be entirely revised, or eliminated;" and the War Policies Board now has the matter under consideration as a question of general war policy.

Upon the foregoing basis of fact, and in the light of precedents herewith cited, it is directed that this bonus system in the cutting room of Cohen, Goodman and Com-

pany be discontinued upon Government work.

The following is an example of the methods used by the Kirschbaum Company to keep workers from organizing; it is a multigraphed circular distributed among the workers:

FOR SALE
POTATOES! POTATOES! POTATOES!
\$3.50 A BAG. 2½ BUSHELS TO A BAG. \$1.40 PER BU.
HOW MANY BUSHELS DO YOU WANT?
Sold Only in Bags of 2½ Bushels
For information see your REPRESENTATIVE
Will Not Take Any Orders After Tuesday, October 28th, 5 P. M.

# $\begin{array}{c} STRONG \ \ ORGANIZATION \ \ IN \ \ BOSTON \ \ WELCOMES \ \ THE \\ CONVENTION \end{array}$

Two years ago in Baltimore, Boston won the grand prize. In the race for the seat of the present convention it snatched the victory. Thus we are now the guests of the Boston Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Boston's name is intimately associated with the revolutionary war for American independence and with the struggle for the emancipation of the Negro slaves. In the course of our stay in this city, the Committees of the local Organization will give us the full benefit of their hospitality, and among the things they will show us will be points of great historical interest, which will almost enable us to visualize the beginning of this Republic. A visit to the several historical places will be very educational. There is no doubt that all delegates and visitors will avail themselves of the opportunity.

Boston also has an interesting Amalgamated history, as may be seen from our reports to the Rochester and Baltimore Conventions.

In those years the pioneering work was done and completed. Since then, therefore, the work has not been of a rousing nature. It has been the work of a well established organization protecting the interests of its members without the necessity of resorting to strikes. Issues arising between the Union and the employers are dealt with through a collective machinery jointly maintained.

Like most other clothing markets, Boston was spared the necessity of a bitter struggle for the forty-four hour week. When that problem was solved in New York, it was solved also for Boston.

February 12, 1919, it was agreed at a conference of representatives of the Joint Board and the Manufacturers' Association that the forty-four hour week should go into effect March 1, and that the wage increases decided upon by the Advisory Board in New York should also be paid by the Boston employers. That understanding was ratified by the membership at a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall.

March 11, 1919, the Boston Clothing Cutters' Union joined the ranks of the Amalgamated. This organization was formed in 1878. With the exception of a short time, when it was affiliated with the United Garment Workers of America, the Boston Cutters' Union had been an independent organization until it applied to us for admission. Our relations with this organization have always been friendly and we gladly gave them our assistance when there was occasion for it, as during their general strike for a wage increase in June, 1918. The Cutters' Union was represented at our Baltimore Convention by a fraternal delegate, Joseph Barry, its president. Today it is represented on an equal footing with all other local organizations.

We were glad to admit the Cutters' Union into the Amalgamated family. That brought all operations in the Boston clothing factories under Amalgamated jurisdiction.

The following is a brief history of the oldest clothing workers' Local Union in America, written by its own officers:

The Boston Clothing Cutters and Trimmers' Union is the oldest organized body of workers engaged in the making of ready made clothing in the United States. It was organized on April 8, 1878. The conditions under which cutters and trimmers worked in those days were deplorable. As similar conditions obtained in nearly all other industries it is assuming little to say that, if these conditions had not been bettered, the spirit of true independent manhood, the greatest inheritance of the American workman and the American citizen, would have been destroyed by them. Gross favoritism prevailed in most of the shops, favoritism that permitted the proteges of the foremen to clandestinely rob their employers, and sent the other workers home brooding over their wrongs at the end of the day's work.

The foremen were for the most part charlatans in the trade. They were cunningly immoral in business and usually illiterate, but shrewd enough to discover the value of pampering some mental weakness of their employers. They were by nature utterly unqualified to rule over their fellow workers and owed their positions only to the fact that they could rattle off the technical terms of their trade in such a manner as to completely bluff their "boss." Their promises to reduce the cost of production never resulted in anything but a reduction of the workers' wages. The result of this policy was to drive the clothing business from Boston, really the birthplace of the industry, and make it a place of no importance in the trade which had its beginning there.

In addition to this, the foreman evil, the cutters and trimmers had many other grievances. The immediate cause, however, of the forming of their union was an inopportune, ill-advised and unwarranted attempt to reduce the prices paid for cutting and trimming. Prices were at the time the lowest paid since the dark days of suffering caused by the national financial panic of 1857, four years prior to the Civil War. The cost of commodities had risen after the close of the Civil War to even greater heights than they have risen since the World War, and they were going down very slowly when the attempt was made to reduce the wage of the cutters and trimmers. It was apparent that it was no time to make any reduction in wages.

Accordingly, obeying that natural instinct to cooperate and unite in time of emergency, the cutters and trimmers joined forces. After a dignified and forceful protest against the contemplated action of the employers, they formed a labor union. This organization of cutters and trimmers not only succeeded in preventing the threatened reduction of wages, but, after several conferences with the merchants, who were at first averse to what they regarded as a dangerous attack on their supposed rights, succeeded in raising the existing scale of wages.

It is the proud record of the Union that, through the faithful and untiring work of its officers and committees, all the most objectionable evils which existed before it was established have been forever eliminated. The union has also obtained from time to time such increases in wages as the exigencies arising from a constantly decreasing volume of business would seem to warrant. It is fair to say that the employers have seldom, if ever, met the representatives of the Union without listening to the requests and desires of the Union members with sympathetic attention. With due allowance for the common failings of humanity and the natural desire of every man to obtain all he can for himself, it may be acknowledged that the employers have seemed to be actuated throughout with the intention of being fair, considerate and just.

In 1885 the Union devoted itself to the movement to stop the making of clothing in the penal institutions of the Commonwealth. This effort was successful, and prison made clothing, unfair to both prisoner and honest working man, was abolished. In the same year the Union was incorporated under the General Laws of the State.

In the early nineties the Union devoted its energy, talent and resources to the crusade which the Hon. Sherman Hoar, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts, was waging against the "sweat shop," which existed in many of the clothing centers, and particularly in New York. The Union sent representatives to Washington to confer with and aid Mr. Hoar in the movement. When a sub-committee seeking information on the subject visited Boston, the Union was of great assistance, a fact which was gratefully noted by Mr. Hoar. During the same decade a great number of the members joined a local body of the Knights of Labor, and it is quite probable that, if the great national body had continued to exist, the Boston Union would have affiliated with it.

In the closing years of the century an unsuccessful effort was made to gather the cutters and trimmers of the United States into a national body. The membership realized the isolation of the Union and felt that it should be taking a more active part in the great labor affairs of the times. It was also necessary that the Union should make such a move in order to strengthen some local conditions. For this reason, the Union sought, and was granted, admission into the United Garment Workers of America. It became Local Union 132 in that organization and sent its first representatives to the annual convention of that body in Detroit in 1900.

During 1900 and the year following practically all workers in the industry in Boston, women as well as men, were organized through the efforts of the officers and committees of the Cutters' Local. Three years later certain objectionable practices were discovered to be in operation in a section of the local organization, practices which if allowed to develop and spread would eventually lead to an inquiry by the prosecuting officers of the Commonwealth. Dreading the scandal that was certain to follow publicity, the Cutters' Union sent a delegation to New York to appear before the General Executive Board of the United Garment Workers of America, then in session in that city, and to urge the Board to use its authority and quietly put an end to the practices.

The General Board, either because of its own moral cowardice, or because they objected to what they termed the impractical ideas of the Boston brothers, refused to hear the delegates. They did, however, inform them that unless the Hub Local ceased its moral complaints it would be disciplined even to the extent of being expelled from the national body. The cutters and trimmers of Boston, preferring honorable punishment to fraternal perfidy, philosophically accepted its official discipline. The Union therefore ceased to be Local Union 132 and became again a proud, independent, isolated and abandoned labor orphan.

The Union may be praised for its readiness to give financial aid to sister Unions in distress. No appeal ever made to it for assistance has been refused or ignored. Men well qualified to express an opinion on the subject believe that, considered on a per capita basis, no other labor body in the country is entitled to a higher place on the scroll of generous givers.

The Union sent its President as a fraternal delegate to the Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, held in Baltimore in 1918. Upon his return, his report of the conditions, aims and objects of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the betterment of the men's clothing industry convinced the members that their place was with this progressive organization.

Early in 1919, a conference was held with General President Hillman and the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated in Boston. The outcome of that conference was that in April of 1919 the Boston Clothing Cutters and Trimmers' Union voted unanimously to affiliate with the A. C. W. of A. The results of that step can be summed up very quickly. The forty-four hour week was established on May 1, 1919. All week workers have since received wage increases of thirty-six percent, and piece workers have received wage raises of thirty-three percent.

Our Local has been strengthened both numerically and financially. We work, as always, in perfect harmony with the tailors. We live in the hope that our Local, though small in numbers, will be able to perform its part in the movement for the general betterment of the trade.

March 17, the Custom Tailors, members of Local 25, went on strike for a forty-four hour week and wage increase. They won their demands within two days. The wage increases secured were \$2 for week workers and 10 percent. for piece workers.

The department stores' bushelmen organized and won the forty-four

hour week and a \$4 wage increase without a strike.

The Leopold Morse Co. of Boston tried hard to get some Amalgamated officials convicted of contempt of court in its injunction case, of which we reported two years ago, but the charges were dismissed September 19, 1918. Under that injunction the Company has attached \$3600 of the Joint Board's funds. But the Joint Board did not permit that to interfere with its constructive work.

In December, 1919, Mr. Charles G. Wood, former member of the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, was chosen impartial chairman of the Boston market by the Boston Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Luther White is labor manager for the Association.

Boston has had the assistance, from time to time, of the following organizers: Frank Bellanca, August Bellanca, Alex Cohen, Joseph Barry and Anthony Ramuglio.

The Amalgamated's position in Boston is now firm. The industry is well organized, the welfare of the workers is jealously safeguarded and the members have full confidence in their organization. The Boston Joint Board, in company with New York, Chicago and others, is striving to erect its own home, an Amalgamated Temple. It responded to many appeals for assistance for deserving causes, such as relief for the war sufferers in Europe, striking steel workers and others.

A powerful local organization is the host of the Amalgamated Convention in Boston.

# CHICAGO EMANCIPATED

Probably the most inspiring single item in the most eventful period in the history of the clothing industry is the emancipation of Chicago. If the past two years had brought us nothing more than that, it would

have been sufficient cause for rejoicing. The same may be said with equal truth of any one of a number of other great achievements such as the forty-four hour week, the organization of Rochester, etc. cause our achievements have been so many, and each one of them of transcending importance we probably are unable to see each one of them in its true magnitude. We have become so accustomed to see big. talk big and act big that there is danger of our forgetting that we had ever been small and unnoticed. Our membership we no longer count by hundreds but by hundreds of thousands; when speaking of "our organization" we refer no more to the East Side of New York or the West Side of Chicago but to the two great countries, where our influence extends, from frigid Canada to the sunny South in the United States and from New England on the Atlantic to the Golden Gate on the Pacific; when planning the building of temples for our members we contemplate the million dollar mark almost with indifference. But the emancipation of Chicago was perhaps the greatest of all thrills in our rich experiences.

Chicago is coming to this Convention with more than forty thousand members, ONE HUNDRED PER CENT ORGANIZED! In its present perspective it is a giant among giants, an equal among equals, in its historical perspective it is almost a miracle.

Perhaps, if we step back a few years, we might be better able to appreciate the wonderful picture, the creation of the greatest artist of all times—THE PEOPLE.

In 1910 there was a general strike in Chicago. It was led by the organization that was then steadily marching towards its Waterloo (in Nashville), which it reached in 1914. That strike was one of many similar tragedies in the clothing industry. It was lost because of the infidelity of the national leaders. The gray day of the Chicago clothing worker became a black night. One firm had sufficient social vision to enter into an arrangement with the defeated labor organization. The initial steps were, quite naturally, made timidly and with a great deal of uncertainty. Good faith, patience and skill made possible constant and increasing progress in that very trying period of pioneering work. The Hart, Schaffner & Marx factories only were open to Union members.

In 1915 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers brought new hope to Chicago. The workers again arose to demand their rights and a general strike was the unavoidable result. The story of that remarkable strike was fully reported to our 1916 Convention in Rochester. That strike did not extend materially the official jurisdiction of the organization but it raised the morale of the workers. They became imbued with the spirit of Unionism and were spiritually free. They saw the Amalgamated in action and reposed their faith in it. To all external appearances, however, Chicago after 1915 was not unlike Chicago before 1915. Our Chicago report to the Baltimore Convention was, except for the size, substantially like the one to the preceding Convention. The injunction alone, issued by Judge Smith and reproduced in that report, was enough to show the seriousness of the situation we were then coping with.

Today the Amalgamated in Chicago is a great and potent factor.

The hopefulness of the present situation lies in the fact that it was not Chicago that raised itself to its present position, just as it was not Rochester or New York or any other city that raised itself to its present position; it was the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the one organization of the two countries, that raised itself to power in New York, in Rochester, in Chicago, and everywhere else. We have one organization, inseparable and indivisible, and each city is an integral part of the one whole. That is why the Chicago of today is so radically different from the Chicago of 1910. In 1910 New York scabbed openly and in wholesale on the Chicago strikers, and vice versa; today New York and Chicago shrink from strike work from any other place as if from a pest. The same is true of all other cities. Thus, while it is true that the transformation of Chicago was in itself an event of tremendous importance, and would have been enough cause for gratitude if nothing else had happened to the credit of our organization during the past two years, it is likewise true that without the power that has made all achievements possible not one of them would have been attained. We are either united along the entire front or disrupted the same way. In 1910 we were demoralized all along the line; today we are united from end to end.

# Production of Army Clothing and the Workers' Rights

Our organizing campaign never ceased. At one time it was carried on more vigorously than at another, but it was always there. The workers received our message and gave the organization all encouragement.

During the period of the production of Army clothing the Chicago market had its quota. Having been informed by the organization of their rights under the Government's regulations, the workers insisted on those rights being observed by the employers. That those rights were resisted, particularly the right to organize, goes without saying. The organization never failed to take up the workers' grievances and bring them to the attention of Prof. William Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, or his representatives.

The following is a decision rendered by Prof. F. S. Deibler, representing the Administrator of Labor Standards, in the case of the John Hall Company, where a strike had taken place:

The controversy with John Hall Company, disregarding minor details, concerns the right of the employes of this company to deal collectively with their employer.

Complaints were made of discrimination and discharge on account of membership in a union, of low wages and of a number of minor matters.

The officials of the company denied the charges of discrimination, and, after conference with representatives of the Union making the complaints, reinstated a number of persons who had been discharged. Furthermore, the officials of the company made counter charges of coercion on the part of the representatives of the Union and asserted that the discipline in their shops had been seriously disturbed, resulting in loss in efficiency and lessened production.

To have undertaken to establish any considerable portion of the complaints against the Company, or the counter charges of the Company, would have required the taking of evidence, and a protracted investigation into the events of the past few months. Any decision based upon such evidence would have been extremely difficult to reach; and what is of equal importance, it would have dealt entirely with past events. What is needed at this time is a constructive policy of friendly working relations.

As representative of the Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, I am proposing a plan as a basis for the future dealings between this company and its employes. In outlining this plan I have been guided by the principles laid down by the Federal War Labor Board, which I have been advised by the Administrator of Labor Standards to follow in the adjustment of this dispute.

The policy of this Board, briefly stated, affirms (a) the right of all workers to organize and to bargain collectively; (b) that no discrimination whatsoever nor discharge for legitimate trade union activities shall take place; (c) that the workers on their part are not to use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join the Union, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith (d) that existing conditions in regard to the status of a shop, whether it be a union or an open shop, shall be maintained; providing, in the case of the open shop, that there is no attempt to deny the right to organize. With these principles as a guide and assuming that the former employes, who claimed to have been discharged on the grounds of discrimination, have already been reinstated without prejudice, as verbally agreed between the officials of this Company and representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, the following recommendations are made as a basis for future dealings:

1st: It is recommended that all grievances and question of shop management, so far as these affect the interests of the workers, should be adjusted in conference between a committee of the employes and such representative of the firm as it shall designate. Inasmuch as it appears that a considerable number of the employes of this company are at the present time members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, the said employes shall have the right to select a committee from their own members to represent them in negotiations with the firm. Likewise, the non-union workers shall have the right to elect an independent shop committee, or, if they so desire, to authorize the union shop committee to represent them in dealing with the firm. In case a shop committee fails to secure satisfactory adjustment of a grievance it shall have the right to call in an outside representative to assist in the adjustment of questions in dispute. Such representative shall be afforded an opportunity to meet the officials of the company for the purpose of presenting the employes' grievances and with the view of reaching an adjustment mutually satisfactory. The right of appeal to the local representatives of the Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing is reserved to either party at any stage in the discussion of a grievance.

2nd: The above arrangement for intercourse between the workers and the firm shall not be held to limit the right of the latter to employ and discharge workers for any reason other than in relation to legitimate union activities. But it is earnestly recommended that while this right to employ and discharge is in the interest of efficiency and discipline reserved to the firm, the employer shall, wherever possible, confer with the representatives of the workers and act jointly with them in the maintenance of efficiency and discipline.

3rd: It is recommended that grievances growing out of differences concerning wages be adjusted by negotiation in accordance with the plan proposed above for disposing of grievances, subject to such standardization, or modification of wages as the Quartermaster General's Office may from time to time issue.

4: In the application of this Award, it is recommended that it be administered in a mutual spirit of accommodation, recognizing on the one hand the right of the worker to some voice in the determination of the conditions under which he is contented to work, and on the other, the interest of the employer, which is, at the same time, the interest of the worker, namely, that production shall go forward with the least possible friction and the highest degree of efficiency. To meet upon this common ground of

efficiency in output should result in harmonious relations in promoting the mutual interests of the company and its employes and, at the same time, in developing a spirit of cooperation in advancing the interests of the Government during this National crisis.

The discharge of Committees chosen by their employes to present demands to the firm caused a strike of the uniform workers of Alfred Decker & Cohn, September 9. The matter was adjusted in conference with Prof. Ripley. All workers returned to work, May 23, with Amalgamated membership books in their pockets and their committee recognized by the firm.

Similar cases, with similar results, occurred in a number of other uniform shops.

At one hearing, typical of many others, the following points were brought out: That there was a system of espionage, that members of the Union were blacklisted, that the firm discharged every Union member, whether on civil or government work, contrary to the Taft-Walsh labor policy; that girls were being paid \$7 a week, and were forced to speed up; that workers were never warned, but discharged without previous notice; that girls were forced to eat their lunches at the machines, although there was a rest room for lunch times; that the firm sent its agents to watch the girls at their homes and their entertainments; that foremen destroyed Amalgamated Union cards; that workers were discharged for attending a Union meeting.

When uniform workers of the Scotch Woolen Mills went on strike, the firm secured an injunction from Judge Smith, who had issued a most sweeping injunction against us in 1916. The injunction barred the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers "from picketing or maintaining any picket or pickets at or near the premises of the complainants, or along the routes followed by the employes of the complainants in going to and from the places of business of the complainants;

"From watching or spying upon the complainants' places of business and upon the employes of the complainants, and from watching or spying upon those who enter or leave said places of business, or who seek to enter the employment of the complainants, or who seek to do business with the complainants;

"From congregating about or near the places of business of the complainants, or any place where the employes of the complainants are lodged or boarded for the purpose of compelling, inducing or soliciting the employes of the complainants to leave said employment or to refuse to work for the purpose of preventing, or attempting to prevent, persons from freely entering into the employment of the complainants;

"From following the employes of the complainants to their homes, or to other places or from calling upon such employes for the purpose, or with the effect, of inducing them to leave the employment of the complainants, or for the purpose, or with the effect of molesting or intimidating such employes or their families;

"From attempting by payment or promise of money, employment or other rewards, to induce employes of the complainants to leave their employment:

"From compelling or inducing, attempting to compel or induce, any of the employes of the complainants, to refuse or fail to do their work or to perform their duties as such employes."

Because the company refused to appear at a hearing before Government representatives, the Government withdrew its material from the company's factory.

During all that time the organizing campaign was pushed with energy. At the close of the war the following circular was distributed in large numbers among the clothing workers:

"Be prepared—the hour of trial is coming.

"Fellow workers, the period of reconstruction is approaching in which the workers must play an important part.

"We are on the eve of great changes. No one can foresee what the immediate future will bring us.

"The question now arises whether the clothing workers are in a position to protect the standards they have established through the years of hard struggle. The wages they are receiving now are not sufficient to meet the high cost of the necessaries of life.

"An army of unemployed may be waiting at the factory door for an opportunity to take your jobs. The employers will again see the chance to take advantage of the competition among workers to reduce your wages.

"Are you prepared to meet these conditions? The answer is that you are not prepared unless you have a powerful organization to protect your interests."

# The Loss of John E. Williams

The New Year, 1919, opened as full of promise for the Clothing Workers of Chicago as no year before had. There was a feeling of absolute confidence. The progress made by the organization was most gratifying. Wherever the rights of the workers were challenged we took up that challenge. We took care of all strikes as they came. The General Office gave all the moral and financial assistance necessary. Slowly but surely we were forging ahead and gaining rights and improvements for our members. The joy of life was immense; one felt in every fibre that life was fully worth living.

But just then death came with a message. He came to remind us that there is a sharp line between the people's cause which always lives, and the individual who is nothing more than an instrument in the promotion of that sacred cause, and whose life is but a flash in the pan in the great scheme of the universe.

John E. Williams passed away, January 2, 1919, at his home in Streator, Ill.

Williams was Chairman of the Board of Arbitration under our agreement with Hart, Schaffner & Marx from 1912 until his death. Much as the services of that splendid man in his capacity as chairman were appreciated, he was to us more than a member of the official

family in the administration of the collective bargaining arrangement. He was also more than a devoted student of the great social problem. A very close and cordial friendship grew up between him and those with whom he came in contact as representatives of our organization. To him the Amalgamated was not merely a party to an agreement under his chairmanship; it was an institution for human elevation, which was inspiring to him. Among the last wishes he gave expression to was the one that our organization might live, thrive and prosper. The death of John E. Williams was a personal loss to those of us who had had the pleasure of knowing him.

But the cause of the people refuses to be halted. While Williams' place in the hearts of his friends could not be filled, his place on the Arbitration Board had to be filled. James H. Tufts, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Chicago University, was chosen to succeed J. E. Williams.

# The Forty-Four Hour Week in Chicago

At that time the great struggle for the forty-four hour week in New York was on. The workers and the employers in Chicago watched it with as much interest as those in New York and elsewhere. It was universally known that while the issue was being fought out in New York, it was not for New York alone but for the entire industry, nationally and internationally.

We have already had occasion to show that in former years the clothing workers in the various cities were groups of mutual strike breakers. They were such not because of their inherent badness but because there was no unity among them and, therefore, that was the ethics of that day. We have also shown that the very opposite is the situation today. But in no case was the latter condition brought out more forcefully than by the action in Chicago at the time of the New York contest.

While the struggle was on in New York for the forty-four hour week, the organization went into conference with the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx on the same subject. The negotiations were conducted by President Hillman and Board Members Samuel Levin and A. D. Marimpietri. There were no trumpets, no bugles, no newspaper sensations and no interruption in work. In due time an understanding was reached. It was to the effect that the agreement which was to expire May 1, 1919, be renewed for 3 years from that date, until April 30, 1922; that the working week be reduced to 44 hours to go into effect immediately, and wages be increased \$2 a week to workers and 8 1-3 per cent to piece workers, retroactive to December 1, 1918. The announcement was made by President Hillman at a membership meeting at Orchestra Hall. Addresses were also made by Prof. Tufts, the new Chairman of the Board of Arbitration, and Mr. James Mullenbach, Chairman of the Trade Board.

That meeting was a demonstration of triumph. It was such not only because of the victory for the Chicago workers but still more so because it meant the shortening of the duration of the fight in New York, which latter had made the victory in Chicago possible, and also because it voted the entire back pay, sixty thousand dollars, for the New York

strike. It was a demonstration of triumph for the high ideals of human solidarity. Perhaps we might be charged with "confiscation", sixty thousand dollars taken from one group of people and given to another, but such is our new ethics.

The winning of the 44-hour week in New York released a new constructive power of the workers, and the industry throughout the country promptly responded to it. On the same day that that grand prize was won in New York, January 22, 1919, Edward V. Price and M. Born, of Chicago, announced the 44-hour week. On the 27th of January the Wholesale Clothiers' Association announced the new working week, to begin April 28, and a wage increase of 10 per cent.

But after the settlement in New York the Chicago Clothing Workers, literally speaking, took the 44-hour week. When the employers posted announcements in the shops to the effect that the new order would begin April 28, the workers *corrected* the date and began it January 28.

The workers in those shops were in constant touch with the officers of the Chicago Joint Board, particularly with Brother Samuel Levin, the Manager. In accordance with an agreement reached at shop meetings, the workers quit work at 4:30, the 44-hour quitting time.

By that time the organization was growing by leaps and bounds. It was harvest time in the field of clothing workers' organization and we hastened to gather in the entire crop. A large staff of clerical workers was unable to enroll the new members fast enough. There was hardly a day without a strike brought about by the employers' efforts to stem the tide of organization. All of them were taken care of.

One day the Joint Board office was informed that the workers in one large factory were ready to walk out. When the officers and organizers arrived in front of that shop the workers were on the street talking strike. Arrangements were quickly made for a meeting in a nearby hall. The people demanded a strike for the prompt inauguration of the 44-hour week, but the Union officers advised them: "Go back to work tomorrow; when half past four comes, walk out. You are not on strike. You are taking the forty-four hour week for yourselves. If the employers ask what you are doing that will be your answer."

In one way or another the workers in all factories took the fortyfour hour week immediately. The employers soon changed the date to correspond to fact rather than to fiction.

Gradually yielding to the new spirit among the workers, the employers evolved a plan of shop committees to sit in joint council with the owners, superintendents and foremen. The shop committees were to be elected at the factories. The scheme was along the lines of the so-called company unions, counterfeit organizations of labor.

We issued a leaflet explaining to the workers the meaning of such shop committees.

In some factories the workers flatly refused to take part in the elections. In others members of the Amalgamated were elected. In still others committees were "regularly" elected at the factories and also at the Union meetings. The organized workers refused to be rep-

resented by the "regular" committees and the employers were obliged to deal with those elected at meetings called by the Union.

The shop committee plan did not check Unionism; it promoted it. It afforded the workers an opportunity to see the difference between camouflage and genuine Unionism and they insisted on the genuine.

Here are a few of the things which happened between the time of the announcement of the 44-hour week and the greatest event of all on May 13; they will serve as an indication of the general situation:

March 3—Fifty cutters employed by the Chicago Tailor's Association, after a stoppage of work caused by the discharge of an active member won a wage increase of \$9.

March 12—International Tailoring Company locked out cutters because they organized and asked for a wage increase. Settlement reached the following day; \$4 increase granted. A \$2 increase had been secured by the cutters a week before.

March 13—City Tailors granted 10 per cent increase following a previous raise of 15 per cent.

March 14—Continental Tailoring Co., signed a preferential Union shop agreement.

March 14—Fifteen hundred employees of Kuppenheimer's went out on strike because of the discharge of the shop committee.

April 26—Alfred Decker & Cohn, B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Chas. Kaufman and other houses, announced the inauguration of a system of profit sharing, insurance and other welfare features. The strikers, and also those who were not involved in strikes, met under the Union's auspices and invariably rejected the new proposition.

May 3—Strike against Alfred Decker & Cohn settled. Workers' own Shop Committee recognized and wage increases granted.

Under those circumstances, the May Day celebration of the clothing workers in 1919 exceeded all like celebrations of the past.

# May 13, 1919.

"Thirteen" is universally accepted as an unlucky number, an instrument of misfortune. No one knows why that should be so; in fact, no one knows that that is really so, but all respectable citizens, who believe that things always have been and always will be as they are today, and who shrink from any change in what is an offense against patriotism and the flag, piously include the immutable viciousness of Number Thirteen in their fundamental faith. But we have no quarrel with that number. It has been very generous with us on a number of occasions. The great strikes of the year 1913 paved the way for the present organization; the 13 Coatmakers' Locals of New York, which formed the United Brotherhood of Tailors in the year 1913, laid the foundation for the now powerful New York Joint Board of Cutters, Coatmakers, Vestmakers and Pantsmakers; October 13, 1914, we were excluded from the U. G. W. Convention in Nashville, which was the immediate cause of the organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; the

agreement in Rochester was signed on February 13, 1919; the strike in Syracuse, which began on the same day, resulted in a strong organization, and finally came the 13th of May, 1919, for Chicago.

On that day the members of the Chicago organization gathered at meetings in Car Men's Hall to ratify a collective bargaining agreement with the Wholesale Clothiers' Association. That was the greatest and most solemn day for all those who had fought and bled for the right to be organized. That right had at last been won and acknowledged by a signed agreement. Greater things may come to pass in the future, but the divine ecstasy of May 13, 1919, will hardly be surpassed.

A meeting with the employers had been arranged by Peter Sissman of the firm of Sissman, Darrow and Bailey. The first conference was held at Mr. Sissman's office Saturday, May 10, between President Hillman and Board Members Frank Rosenblum, Samuel Levin and A. D. Marimpietri for the Amalgamated and Messrs. Stern, of Ludwig and Stein, and Kahn, of B. Kuppenheimer & Co., for the Association. Another conference was held the following day and an agreement reached. May 13, in the afternoon, all Association shops closed and the workers went to Car Men's Hall to ratify the agreement, the official acknowledgement of their victory.

The strikes of nine long years were settled May 13, 1919, when the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers ratified that agreement at mass-meetings at Street Car Men's Hall.

It was almost impossible to realize that practically the entire Chicago clothing market was put on a basis of collective bargaining. Chicago, the Gibraltar of the closed shop, closed against union men; Chicago, the scene of many lost labor battles; Chicago, the seemingly impregnable, carried by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. If only those who had lost their lives in the struggles of the past could rise from their graves to see that their fight was won.

On that day the rudiments of industrial democracy were established in the Chicago clothing factories. The workers, through their own organization, now participate in the industrial legislation in their factories. They have a voice in determining hours, wages and other conditions. They are conscious of their rights and are exercising them with intelligence and in accordance with the new responsibilities that are now theirs.

Chicago now holds its place alongside of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Rochester and other cities where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has established rights for the workers and humane working conditions.

The Chicago employers fought hard against the entry of the Amalgamated into their factories. We have no quarrel with them for having done so. They followed the natural instinct of employers. Other employers have done the same with like results.

One of the most successful posters in the Victory Loan Campaign bore the legend: "They thought we couldn't fight." How well that applies to our case. The employers in almost every city "thought we couldn't fight", but we proved to them that we can both fight and win.

The head of B. Kuppenheimer & Co., speaking for all the manufacturers, said: "We fought very hard and now we want to work together as hard as we fought in the past."

The following firms are members of the Wholesale Clothiers' Association: B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Alfred Decker & Cohn; Kuhn, Nathan & Fisher; Hirsh Wickwire & Co.; Ederheimer & Stein; Charles Kaufman & Bros.; Leopold, Solomon & Eisendrat; Stein, Spitzberger & Ehrman; L. Abt & Sons; Sheahen, Cohen & Co.; Granite & Rothschild, and Mayer Bros.

Thirteen days later—again number thirteen favored us—the employes of the Wholesale Tailors' Association (special order trade) assembled at the same place, Car Men's Hall, to ratify an agreement signed by that Association with the Amalgamated. This agreement was an exact copy of the agreement of May 13. This association includes the following firms: A. E. Anderson and Co.; Banner Tailoring Co.; M. Born and Co.; Briede and Rogovsky; Diamond Tailoring Co.; D'Ancona and Co.; Mark G. Harris and Co.; International Tailoring Co.; Lamm and Co.; Lukone Tailoring Co.; H. M. Marks and Co.; Meyer and Co.; Ed. V. Price and Co.; Progress Tailoring Co.; Royal Tailors; Schoenbrun and Co.; Strauss Bros.; E. E. Strauss and Co.; J. L. Tailors and Co.; Rose and Co.; Churchill and Co.; Ed. Rose and Co.; Kahn Bros.; Scotch Woolen Mills; John C. Gorman and Co.; Leeds Woolen Mills and Bernard-Hewitt and Co.

In addition to the two associations the following independent firms in Chicago have agreements with our organization: Hart, Schaffner and Marx; Gunkel and Novy; Obendorff and Co.; Oxford Hand Tailoring; Chicago Tailoring Co.; Levin, Prosterman and Bronson; Lincoln Tailoring; Whitney Tailoring Co.; Continental Co.; Daube-Rosenthal; Samuels Clothing Mfg. Co.; Majestic Tailoring Co.; Harris and Guthman Brothers; G. and S. Heyman; Goldstein and Newman; Marks Tailoring; Freeman-Stasny; Ira Barnett Co.; Harry Elman; Marks and Brown; Cohn, Rissman and Co.; J. Schwartz and Sons Co.; Langendorf Clothing Co.; The Perlstein Co.; The Hub; Harry Guszkowski Co.; Personal Service; Wozniak and Co.; Harry Mitchell; S. Klein Co.; National Custom Garment Makers; Morgenthau Brothers; Scheyer and Co.; City Tailors; Feldman Bros.; American Clothing Co.; Crown Cut, Make, Trim Co.; Ruhwiedel and Behrens; Alschuler Dreyer Co.; Chicago Tailors' Association; Model Tailoring Co.; Maurice L. Rothschild; Ed. Gitelson, Fuchs-Rothschild Sitron; W. J. Pike and Co.; United Custom Garment; Stanford Co.; Rosenwald and Weil; Stagg Tailoring Co. and Sears Roebuck and Co.

The last named firm signed July 23, 1919, granting wage increases retroactive to June 1, 1919.

Those who conducted the work that led up to the victory were: Frank Rosenblum, General Executive Board member and manager of the organizing staff in Chicago; Samuel Levin, General Executive Board member and A. D. Marimpietri, General Executive Board member.

North West Side Organizers:—Joseph Glickman, Morris Sheps, William Rocco, Thomas Uzarski, Peter Galskis, Otto Carlson and Louis Grossman.

West Side and Downtown organizers:—Andrew Greco, Emilio Grandinetti, Benjamin Willner, Louis Taback, Philip Schultz, Nettie Richardson, Joseph Kaminsky, Hyman Isovitz, Louis Weiss, Morris Spitzer and William Gribo.

South West Side organizers:—Stephen Skala, Robert Cunat and Frank Kristan.

Cutters' organizers:—Samuel Rissman, Business Agent of Local 61; Jack Kroll, Morris Conwisher, Samuel Geier and A. Block.

A great number of Amalgamated members did meritorious work in distributing literature and assisting the organizers.

In accordance with the provisions of the agreements with the above associations, wage increases were agreed upon July 9 retroactive to June 1, in the following manner:

"All the piece work sections shall be classified by each house according to the average weekly earnings of each section, taking all the workers of each section in all the shops of each house as a unit. For the purpose of this classification the average earnings for each complete section for the latest four full weeks (eliminating overtime) shall be taken.

"To the piece rates of all sections, the average earnings in which are \$28 or under, an increase of 20 per cent shall be added.

"To the piece rates of all sections, the average earnings in which are from \$28.01 to \$37, an increase of 15 per cent shall be added.

"To the piece rates of all sections, the average earnings in which are over \$37.01, an increase of 10 per cent shall be added.

"All week workers in Tailor shops (excluding all superintendents, foremen, section heads and their assistants, and all learners employed less than three months in the trade,) shall receive an increase, in addition to their wage rates, of \$5 per week.

"All cutters, now receiving a wage of \$31 per week or less, shall receive an increase of \$5 per week, and all who are receiving more than \$31 shall receive an increase of \$4 per week.

"All experienced clothing cutters, (excluding apprentices) hired after July 3rd, shall receive a wage of \$37 per week. All regular cutters, excluding apprentices, whose wages, after having received the increases as herein provided, shall be less than \$37, shall receive a further increase of \$1 per month until their wages equal \$37 per week.

"No person shall be considered a cutter under the terms of this agreement until he shall have completed his term of apprenticeship.

"All trimmers in the Trimming Department shall receive an addition of \$5 per week to their weekly wage rates.

"A Joint Committee composed of representatives of each of the parties hereto will consider the question of apprentices in the different branches of the industry.

"All the increases and additions to wages or rates granted herein shall be retroactive to June 1st, 1919, for the Clothiers and July 1st, 1919, for the Tailors to the trade, and shall be added to the piece rates and weekly wages prevailing on June 1st, 1919, for the Clothiers and July 1st, 1919, for the Tailors to the trade.

"It is the intention of all parties to this agreement that there should be no deterioration or reduction in the efficiency, output, and quality of workmanship on the part of the workers; and the Board of Arbitration and Trade Board, as well as the officers and members of the Union, are responsible for the maintenance of efficiency in the establishments of all employers signing this agreement.

"A Joint Committee composed of representatives of each of the parties hereto will further consider the matter relating to Trimmers, Tailors and Bushelmen."

The wage raise report was approved at a number of meetings by the following resolution:

"Whereas, the report of the wage adjustment was given by our officers at this meeting, granting wage increases to all workers in the industry, and this report meets with the approval of all workers assembled in this hall, therefore be it

"Resolved, that this meeting approves the report as given, and be it further

"Resolved, that we extend our appreciation of and confidence in the officers who represented us at the conferences."

## The Raid and Indictments

It was impossible that the great success of our organization should not drive its enemies to desperate attempts to destroy it. One such attempt was made on November 6, 1919, when fifteen detectives from the State's Attorney's office raided the offices of the Chicago Joint Board and seized all records and carted them away in automobiles.

Immediately after the raid, the State's Attorney proceeded to try our case in the newspapers. He issued a series of sensational and deliberately false statements, to which the papers gave the widest publicity. The principal charge against the officials of our organization was bribery.

The General Secretary issued a statement to explain what had really happened but the papers which were giving much space and conspicuous positions to the charges against us were unable to spare space for our denial of them. The statement was as follows:

The raid on our offices in Chicago on Thursday by the State's attorney is part of a gigantic conspiracy by a group of unscrupulous employers to involve the officials in a bribery plot that was intended to discredit them and strike a death blow at the organization that was first to establish the forty-four week for its members, and which forced employers to better wages to meet the increased cost of living.

We have known of the conspiracy for some time. On October 22 an agent of the conspirators came to New York City from Chicago to bribe General President Hillman. The following day President Hillman reported the overtures of the bribe agent to

the New York District Attorney. He was referred to Assistant District Attorney Samuel Markowich, who made preparations for the arrest of the bribe agent in the act of offering the bribe.

One of the investigators of the District Attorney's office was assigned by Mr. Markowich to bring about the arrest of the agent of the conspirators. At the same time that the conspiracy against the Amalgamated officials was reported to the District Attorney, we engaged a detective agency to trail the briber's agent. The agency discovered that the conspirators were trailing the officials, and had learned of the visit of President Hillman to the District Attorney's office.

Realizing that a trap had been set for them, and that they would be arrested if they went further in their plot in New York City, the bribe agent was hurriedly recalled to Chicago and he left New York on October 24.

After the detective agency we had engaged made an investigation of our offices, in which the bribe plot was to be staged, it was learned that dictographs had been placed in the rooms occupied by the officials. Every effort had been made to bring success to the bribe frameup, but the visit by President Hillman to the District Attorney's office scared the conspirators.

The prime movers in the Chicago raid are of the same type that have attempted to corrupt union officials in other cities. We know that the plot has a national basis, with an unscrupulous group of employers involved.

The conspiracy against the Amalgamated was devised by scab herders and other enemies of the organization who used a Chicago contractor as their go-between. The contractor first offered Manager Samuel Levin of the Chicago Joint Board \$1,500 as a bribe for an opportunity to run his scab shop. The bribe was turned down. Later, a dummy, who was supposed to have purchased the contractor's shop, offered General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum an automobile for the same consideration. All the evidence against the bribers was placed in the hands of Attorney William A. Cunnea, counsel for the Chicago Joint Board.

The contractor and the dummy, failing to bribe the Chicago officials, announced that they had a \$100,000 fund, placed at their disposal by the chief conspirators, to accomplish the downfall of the international officers and Chicago Joint Board officials. Then a scheme was entered into to involve the international officers in a bribery plot.

An agent of the conspirators came to New York in order to stage a bribery of General President Hillman. Warned by the Chicago officials, President Hillman reported the existence of the plot to the New York District Attorney. A detective from the District Attorney's office was assigned to arrest the agent of the conspirators in the act of giving the bribe. But the plotters had had detectives on the trail of President Hillman, and suspected that a trap had been laid for them when he visited the District Attorney's office. So the agent of the plotters did not go through with the bribe scheme, and hastily returned to Chicago.

It is believed that the conspirators enlisted the aid of the State's Attorney when all their other plots failed. The agent of the plotters left New York for Chicago on October 24, and the raid on the Chicago offices was made on November 6.

Instead of acting in his legal capacity as State Prosecutor, the State's Attorney sought the limelight in the press as the mouthpiece of the plotters. Instead of making a serious investigation of the falsehoods that had been told him by the conspirators who are seeking to destroy the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the State's Attorney repeated to the press all the vicious tales that had been concocted by the guiding spirits of the conspiracy.

The State's Attorney issued statements every few hours in which he charged the Chicago officials with extorting \$500,000 from Chicago employers by threats of strikes and boycotts. The leader in the poison propaganda of the State's Attorney's office was Assistant State Attorney Nicholas Michels. The Chicago clothing manufacturers issued statements denouncing his charges against the Amalgamated.

November 18, the Grand Jury of Cook County voted indictments of the following Amalgamated officials:

FRANK ROSENBLUM, member of the General Executive Board, in charge of organization work in Chicago and other western cities.

SAMUEL LEVIN, Manager of the Chicago Joint Board.

SAMUEL RISSMAN, Assistant Manager of the Chicago Joint Board.

JACK KROLL, General Organizer in charge of organization work in Cincinnati and Louisville.

BENJAMIN WILLNER, Business Agent of the Chicago Coat Makers' Union.

LOUIS GROSSMAN, Business Agent of the Chicago Vest Makers' Union.

MAURICE C. FISCH, Secretary of the Chicago Joint Board.

There are five counts in the indictment. The first count charges that the Amalgamated officials obtained \$1,000 from the Stag Tailoring Company through an attempt maliciously to injure the business. The second count charges a conspiracy to extort the \$1,000 by means of a boycott. No. 3 charges a boycott through dealers that supply the Stag Company and malicious destruction of property. No. 4 is a general charge of extortion from unnamed manufacturers by means of boycott, and No. 5 is a general charge of committing acts injurious to public trade by means of extortion and boycott.

The Stag Company had compelled its employes to work overtime without time and one half pay for a long period, covering several months. It was impossible to compute the exact sum due the workers, which amounted to several thousand dollars, so a compromise on \$1,000 was agreed to. That amount was voted for the Rochester strikers and was so announced in the Amalgamated journals.

Clarence Darrow and William A. Cunnea are in charge of the defense.

The star witness for the raiders was to be a young woman by the name of Fay Rubin. The raiders featured her in the wild stories given out by them to the newspapers. Being a woman, Miss Rubin and her likeness made good "copy" and the papers seized on her. But about the time the indictments were expected Assistant State's Attorney Michels informed the impatient newspaper readers that his star witness had suddenly disappeared, hinting that the girl either had yielded to bribery or had been kidnapped. In addition to this sensational statement, the State's Attorney also claimed that Miss Rubin's brother-in-law asked \$5,000 for the girl's testimony, which was refused.

Michels further declared that he sent out a squad of detectives to the girl's residence with a subpoena for her appearance before the grand jury in order to obtain the desired indictments of several officers of the Amalgamated. He promised a country wide search for his star witness, claiming that her disappearance on the eve of the indictment was rather a blow to the State's Attorney's office. At the time Michels compained of the "kidnapping" of Miss Rubin, the same girl, in an affidavit sworn to before the Amalgamated lawyer, William A. Cunnea, declared that she had never offered to the State's Attorney any testimony against the officials of the Amalgamated, and also that she never had any knowledge of any transactions of the Union or its officials.

Miss Rubin made this statement in her home, the same home from which she was supposed to have been kidnapped.

Miss Rubin's affidavit follows:

My name is Fay Rubin, typist by occupation. Owing to the fact that my name has been used in connection with the so-called Labor scandal, I am dictating the following statement in an effort to clear myself.

In March, 1919, I took employment with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at their main office. My duties were clerical. Later a switchboard was installed and I was given the chance of taking care of it and also the information desk. At this latter position, which is semi-public, I came in contact with most of the visitors to the office.

The most frequent of these in the last two months were Mr. Schwartz and Mr. Mintz. Mr. Schwartz became friendly with me. On one occasion he informed me that he was having a hard time to get union men to work for him; also that the union would not sign up with him. It had already netted him a loss of a large sum of money. He told me his troubles in such a way that I sympathized with him. I only knew his side of the story.

Three weeks ago I and my sister were discharged for some reason or other which was not explained. I then went to Mr. Mintz, thinking he would be able to advise me of the situation. He said I had nothing to worry about. He offered me a position in his office at \$20 a week.

I at no time gave any statement to them to the effect that there was any bribery going on at the Union or any graft. I did not at any time see a State's Attorney or make statements that appeared in the newspapers.

When I read the newspapers a week ago last Thursday evening I left my position and did not see Mr. Mintz or Mr. Schwartz since.

I am working at the present time. I swear that the above is all true and that I am willing to stand in back of it at all times.

Twenty-five thousand dollars in Liberty Bonds was deposited with the Clerk of the Chicago Court on November 28 as bonds for the seven indicted officials of our organization.

The trial was set for the January term. The seven defendants and their counsel came before Judge Zeeman on January 6, 1920, and demanded immediate trial. On motion of Assistant State's Attorney Nicholas Michels, the case was continued until the next term of court, and set for trial February 23.

The seven defendants and counsel again appeared in Criminal Court on February 23, again demanding trial but again the case was continued. Assistant State's Attorney Michels asked that the case be set over to another term of court, because the state was "not ready to go on". The case was continued to March 15.

On March 15 the State's Attorney again reported "not ready" and there was another adjournment, this time to April 28. On April 28 the State's Attorney was "not ready" for the fourth time and there was another postponement until May 31.

On November 8, 1919, the Chicago Evening American published the following:

Michels today continued his revelations into the alleged malpractices of the union. He disclosed correspondence between men here and in Cincinnati and New York which gave rise to the belief that efforts had been made to corrupt courts of justice where workers were brought to trial for radical offenses.

"They killed by poisoning in Cincinnati whenever they were opposed," Michels said.

"The clothing workers' union is headed by the reddest sort of bolsheviki at large in America. Chicago is the hotbed. When seven of them were arrested in Ohio, \$75,000 in Liberty bonds were rushed from here to furnish bail.

"They are shadowing every move I made. The other night I turned on one of their spies, pushed my revolver against his abdomen and told him to go back to the dirty cur who pays him and let him know that I am going to send him to prison—for a long time. These men will stop at nothing. I am going before the grand jury shortly and indict every crooked union official."

Yet these "crooked union officials" are pressing for a trial and it is the State's Attorney, who had "enough evidence" to convict them without a trial in the newspapers that is repeatedly delaying the trial because, having the "evidence", he is not ready.

Several newspaper articles at the time of the raid referred to a "\$30,000 shakedown" of a clothing firm. This firm, Kahn Bros., wrote to the newspapers declaring explicitly and categorically that the allegation was false, but the letter was not published. The letter, written on the stationery of Kahn Bros., and signed by S. W. Kahn, was as follows:

Dear Sir:-

In an article in your paper this morning, under the caption, "Union is Raided as Bribe Ring," referring to a raid upon the headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at 409 S. Halsted Street, the following statement is made.

The largest amount paid thus far uncovered was \$30,000. The identity of the concern was closely guarded by the prosecutor's office. It became known, however, that Kahn Bros., one of the largest clothing manufacturers in Chicago, was among the victims.

In justice to the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, I desire to state, that so far as our firm is concerned, we have never paid one penny to any officer, or anybody connected with the above union to influence them in any manner, nor have the Union officials or anybody else connected with the Union, at any time made any hint or suggestion to us that the payment of any money would result in bringing about any desired action.

As a matter of fact, our relations with the Union have at all times been entirely agreeable. They have co-operated with us in every way for the maintenance of industrial peace since we entered into a contract with them, and any insinuation or charge that corruption was ever attempted or consummated between the officials of the Union and ourselves is absolutely without the slightest foundation.

'In view of the publication above referred to, and in justice to the Union and its officials, I feel that this letter should be published at once, and given the same conspicuous position in your reading matter that the original publication was given.

Yours very truly,

KAHN BROTHERS,

Per S. W. Kahn, President.

The State's Attorney's case is "perfect" in the newspapers, where we are not permitted to defend ourselves, but the prosecutor is not ready for us in the courts though he has all of our records and other documents.

On April 28 the Chicago Daily News published the following Editorial comment which indicated a change in the attitude of at least one newspaper:

THOSE INDICTED CLOTHING WORKERS

Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers apparently are making a genuine effort to obtain as early as possible a trial in court, and therefore a public hearing, of the serious charges that were brought against them months ago. Their appearance this week in the Circuit court with their attorney was the fifth. Once a month, beginning with December, they have stood forth and declared in open court that they wanted an immediate trial.

The indictments charging extortion and conspiracy were returned by the November grand jury. Extremely grave accusations were given publicity at that time. The responsibility of the sources from which the accusations emanated remains to be proved in court.

The size and importance of the industry involved and the fact that the men indicted are chosen representatives of more than 40,000 wage workers give special weight to their demand for early trial.

# Wage Increase for the Spring Season-Prof. Tufts' Decision

In spite of all persecution, the work of the Organization was continued undisturbed. The membership at many meetings expressed its fullest confidence in the officials who were selected by the conspirators as their targets, and both members and officials carried on the Organization's business as usual. In due time negotiations were taken up with the employers for wage increases for the spring season of 1919-1920. Many conferences were held. No agreement having been reached, the matter finally came to Prof. James H. Tufts for decision. On December 22 he decided in favor of a wage increase.

Chicago was the last clothing market to act on the demand of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for a wage increase for the light-weight season. The bulk of the workers received a raise of six dollars in their weekly wages.

The wage increase granted by Professor James H. Tufts, Chairman of the Board of Arbitration, is not of particular significance in itself. All other markets having granted increases, Chicago was bound to follow suit. What is significant and epochmaking is Professor Tufts' opinion, handed down with the decision. That opinion places Professor Tufts in the position of a pathfinder among industrial arbitrators.

Time was when such arbitrators had no real principles to guide them in their efforts to keep the industrial forces moving in an orderly manner. Gradually the organized power of the workers brought forth more or less definite rules. The temptation was to formulate and apply those rules in a legalistic spirit. Those arbitrators suceeded most who discarded completely the legalistic and formulistic attitude and brought with them a broad and open social mind. To them Professor Tufts' opinion will be stimulating and encouraging as it is to the parties immediately concerned.

Professor Tufts takes cognizance of the arguments advanced against wage increases: Wages have kept pace with the cost of living; higher wages mean higher prices to the consumer, etc., etc.

Professor Tufts says in effect: "Suppose wages have kept abreast of the cost of living, which is not always true, what about an improved standard for the worker? Is the worker to be content with a dead level, and are wage increases to be justified only in order to prevent his falling below that level? No. The worker has a right to attain a higher standard, regardless of the rising or falling cost of living." That is a common sense interpretation of the American right to "pursuit of happiness."

As for the consumer, Professor Tufts says, "prices of clothing have advanced and are certain to be further advanced whatever may be the decision of this case." In other words, the price paid by the consumer, the public, for a given product, is not necessarily determined by the rise in wages.

In the clothing industry the workers have a rightful claim to higher earnings, without giving the public cause for complaint. First, "a part of the increases in earnings which have come about in the industry has been accompanied by an improvement in production. This part of the increased earnings, shown particularly in piece work production does not necessarily involve any increase in cost of clothing to the public." Second, the effective control exercised by the union eliminates interruption in production. "Continuous production, as contrasted with the wastefulness of strikes and lockouts, is bound in the long run to serve the public." Such continuous production is impossible without a firm organization of the workers. Where such waste is absent the workers may receive higher wages than they otherwise would without the public paying the difference.

Professor Tufts goes further. He says that the workers in the clothing industry, which is seasonal, are not secured from the terrible horrors of unemployment. In the present case the danger of unemployment justified "some greater flexibility in wage variation," but the manner in which the dreaded subject is referred to contains a warning. The industry must take care of the workers upon whom it depends. It must find a way of providing for them, otherwise the industry will never have stabilization.

Professor Tufts clinched the following points:

Workers are entitled not only to a living wage and not only to a decent livelihood but also to a rising standard of living.

The public cannot expect to regulate wages while it does not regulate profits.

Wages are a very small factor in the rising prices, and prices would rise even without wage increases.

The Union makes it possible to reduce the cost of production by maintaining order and continuity of production.

The industry owes a livelihood to its workers.

Herewith is Prof. Tufts' decision in full:

BOARD OF ARBITRATION FOR THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA AND CHICAGO CLOTHING

## MANUFACTURERS

December 22, 1919.

The agreements between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and various firms engaged in the manufacture of men's clothing in Chicago contain the following provisions:

"If there shall be a general change in wages or hours in the clothing industry, which shall be sufficiently permanent to warrant the belief that the change is not temporary, then the Board shall have power to determine whether such change is of so extraordinary a nature as to justify a consideration of the question of making a change in the present agreement, and, if so, then the Board shall have the power to make such changes in wages or hours as in its judgment shall be proper."

Under this provision, appeal has been made to the Board of Arbitration to determine whether the emergency therein referred to exists at this time, and if it shall decide that such an emergency does exist, then to proceed in accordance with the provision.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers were represented by Mr. Hillman, Mr. Levin, Mr. Marimpietri, Mr. Rosenblum, Mr. Rissman, and other union officials: the firms, by Mr. Carl Meyer, Mr. Hotchkiss, Mr. Abt, and by Messrs. Howard, Todd and Haylatt, labor managers, at a formal hearing held on December 13. Statistics asked for by the Board were subsequently presented showing comparisons between Chicago and other markets as to rates, wages, and other conditions; wages now paid in Chicago, increases already granted since 1913, the age and marital condition of workers with especial reference to their dependents; comparisons with other Chicago industries. Supplementary advice was obtained by the Chairman at conferences with labor manager and officials of the Amalgamated as to details of certain proposed changes, and also a conference with representatives of retail clothiers. The attention of the Board was also called to official government reports upon wages and costs of living.

In announcing the following decision the chairman of the Board desires to state that inasmuch as the other two members of the Board have acted as representatives of the respective parties, he has found himself in the position of being obliged to take the responsibility for the decision.

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The first point to be determined is whether an emergency of the character referred to now exists. Figures were submitted by Mr. Hillman showing changes in New York Baltimore, Rochester, Boston, and Canadian cities. The fact of these changes was not questioned by the firms, but it was claimed that these changes do not warrant a change in the Chicago market since the conditions in other markets are not similar. In particular it was claimed that New York is a contractors' market and a highly unstable one; that Rochester changes were intended to bring up a market which had previously been below others; and that Baltimore changes were not submitted to arbitration

The Board holds that although the figures presented substantiate in part these contentions of the Firms as to some of the other markets, the evidence as a whole is conclusive as to the existence of "a general change in wages in the industry sufficiently permanent to warrant the belief that the change is not temporary," and hence that it has power to "make such changes as it shall judge to be proper."

II

Coming now to the main issues presented to the Board, they may be considered under two heads. (1) shall any change be made in wages? (2) What changes, if any, shall be made?

The representative of the clothing workers presented requests for increases in wages and maintained that increases were justified because of

- (1) Increased cost of living.
- (2) Desire for improvement in standards of living, if the industry can afford it.
- (3) The great demand for labor in this industry which would have permitted greatly increased wages by bargains made by individual workers had not the agreement stabilized and moderated rates of wages.
- (4) The increased market value which labor now commands as shown by increases in wages in other cities.
- (5) The efficiency of this industry in maintaining constant production, thereby making its important contribution to public welfare, both in the economic aspect of doing its share toward keeping costs down as compared with the wastefulness of strikes, and in the general social and public aspect of maintaining order and peace in industry in the midst of a generally disturbed condition in the labor world.
- (6) The efficiency of the Chicago market in particular as a piece work market, which makes it possible for the Chicago market to do as well by the workers as other less efficient markets, and makes any other attitude hard to justify.

Against any increase at this time it was maintained by the representatives of the firms:

- (1) That increases in wages in the industry have more than kept pace with the increased cost of living.
- (2) That whatever may be true as to the demand for labor and the consequent market rate of wages, there is at this time a paramount duty to the public not to increase the cost of the necessaries of life unless there is a real exigency, which in this case does not exist.
- (4) That this industry is now in a highly favorable condition as compared with other industries, both national and local, especially when it is considered that only about one-third of those employed are heads of families.
- (4) That since deflation is bound to come sooner or later, every increase which adds to costs has a tendency in the wrong direction, and will make the inevitable shrinkage more keenly felt.
- (5) That the indirect effects on prices and industry of any increase in wages at this time ought to be considered.
- (6) That local conditions in the Chicago market, both within the industry and in the relation of this to other industries, make any change undesirable from the point of view of the best interests of the Agreement into which many of the firms have recently entered.

After considering and weighing these and other arguments not here recited, and after studying with such care as time has permitted the valuable figures submitted, the Board finds that as regards the relation in the industry between increases of wages and increased cost of living, the contention of the firms is in the main justified. For most classes of workers, the increases hitherto granted have at least been equal to the increased cost of living as estimated by the U. S. Bureau of Labor. In some cases increases have greatly exceeded the increased cost of living. In the case of certain groups, however, the figures submitted show that the increase in wages has been considerably less than the increase cost of living.

The general question as to the propriety of any increase turns therefore on this; Shall a group of workers be permitted under this Agreement to avail itself of market conditions of supply and demand to improve its standard of living beyond the general level of advancing rates in cost of living, or is it the duty of this Board to refuse such a demand on the grounds of public policy?

In answering this question, the Board believes that it must be governed largely, although not exclusively, by the prevailing principles and policies of the country as embodied in its institutions. In endeavoring to give a just decision, the Board does not feel warranted in setting up a standard too widely at variance with our present social and economic order.

The principles and policies of the United States are, with certain qualifications, those of individualism, or the competitive system. This means that prices, wages, and profits are fixed by bargaining under the forces of supply and demand.

This general principle is qualified and limited in the case of "property affected with a public interest," such as railways. In private, as distinguished from public or semi-public business and industry, there is a moral disapproval on the one hand for such extremely low wages as make a decent standard of living impossible, and on the other hand, for extreme increases in the price of necessaries of life, but there is no general disapproval of the general principle of profiting by market conditions. In time of national emergency, we used the word "profiteer" to condemn taking advantage of the country's need for an unreasonable private gain. But in ordinary time, there is as yet no recognized standard for the fairness of prices of various goods or for relative ages in different industries other than what the bargainers agree upon. This method may often fail to give justice as measured by various other standards of merit or desert. But for the most part, labor has had to bargain for its wages, and it cannot be expected to forego entirely the advantages which market conditions now afford.

Coming, then to the specific concrete situation which confronts us, we have the outstanding fact that very substantial increases to clothing workers have been granted in all the other principle markets in this country and Canada and in many less important centers. These increases have usually been five or six dollars a week; in some cases, they have been more. In these days when both employers and workers know of such increases and plan accordingly, it is not practicable to treat the Chicago market as an entirely distinct situation to be judged on its own merits, without reference to what is going on elsewhere in the country.

We consider next the question of how far public interest may properly enter in to limit any extreme use of bargaining power. It may be said in the first place that if there is to be public regulation of any industry or a moral judgment upon wages or prices, this should apply to every stage in the process of production and marketing; it must apply to profits as well as to labor; it must consider not merely the figures in the case, but the actual efficiency or wastefulness of the method.

Second: In the case of an industry which until recently has been seasonal, and which may again become seasonal, and in which there is no guarantee against unemployment, some greater flexibility in wage variation in order to protect against future hard times is reasonable. The public now recognizes this principle in that it admits greater profits to be warranted in an industry in which there is greater risk than in an industry in which capital is secure and return is stable.

Undoubtedly there is a limit, even if there is no scientific method for settling it, to what even individualism will or ought to approve. Prices of clothing have advanced and are certain to be further advanced whatever may be the decision of this case. In fact, retailers had to place orders for their light weight clothing before this case was heard, and inasmuch as general increases were asked for in September and granted in other markets in November, it may be presumed that such possibilities were in mind when prices were set for the light-weight consumer. The Board had carefully considered the effect to the consumer of the increase asked for. The fact is that making of clothes under modern methods has come to be an efficient process. A part of the increases in earnings which have come about in the industry has been accompanied by improvement in production. This part of the increased earnings, shown particularly

in piece-work production, does not necessarily involve any increases in cost of clothing to the public. The increases involved in this award means a relatively small increase

Finally, the Board believes that in taking into account the interest of the public, it is bound to consider both the economic and the public or social value of continuous production and a peaceful and orderly method of conducting industry. Continuous production, as contrasted with the wastefulness of strikes and lockouts, is bound in the long run to serve the public. Whatever the issue of any strike or shutdown in industry, the public sooner or later has to pay for idleness. And the social and public value of an orderly peaceful method of negotiation and arbitration for wage adjustments and all other questions in dispute between employers and employed cannot be gainsaid. This industry as now organized under agreements which aim to substitute reason for force, is performing an important public service. Both the firms and the union members have made certain financial sacrifices for the sake of a larger end. The labor market is being stabilized; good will is being cultivated; responsibility is being built up. This cannot be overlooked by the Board.

#### III

As to the date when the changes ordered shall take effect, it has been urged on the one hand that this should properly correspond as nearly as possible to the changes in other markets which have ranged from October to December 1. On the other hand, it is urged that decisions of this Board ought not to be retroactive, and that inasmuch as certain increases other than the general increase of June 1 have been made by many of the smaller houses in the market, it would be a severe burden to fix a date that falls before the close of the heavy-weight season.

The Board believes that in general an award ought not to take effect at a date prior to the filing of the claim with the Board. On the other hand, it ought to be made as promptly as possible after the formal hearing. If special conferences are necessary to adjust details, these should not delay the date of the award. This case was filed with the Board December 9. The formal hearing was held December 13. It is the decision of the Board that the award shall take effect as of December 15 at the beginning of work for the day.

## IV

Beginning December 15, 1919, an increase shall be added to the piece and wagerates now in existence under the agreements. The new rates thus established shall prevail up to June 1, 1920, except when detailed changes may be ordered by the Board of Arbitration on recommendation of either of the Trade Boards.

The increase shall be applied as follows:

An increase of twenty per cent (20%) shall be given to sections or occupations where the average earnings or wages on a forty-four hour basis are thirty dollars or less per week, and five per cent (5%) to sections where the average earnings on a forty-four hour basis are fifty dollars or more per week.

An increase equivalent to \$6.00 per week shall be given to sections where the average earnings are from \$30.00 to \$50.00 per week. An increase of 20% shall be given to all week workers now receiving less than \$30.00 per week; an increase of \$6.00 per week to week workers now receiving from \$30.00 to \$49.99 per week; and an increase of 5% to week workers now receiving \$50.00 or more per week.

In piece-work sections, the equivalent of the increase shall be calculated and added to the existing piece rates.

In addition to the increases granted above, the Board will grant further increases in specific sections to be recommended by the committee appointed to investigate the subject of relative disparities in rates now existing.

The increase shall apply to all sections and classes of labor represented by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, provided that nothing in this shall be

taken to prejudice certain problems of re-classification which are now pending before the Board of Arbitration under the Hart Schaffner & Marx Agreement. Pending the completion of such re-classification, and a final decision, such persons as were granted increases by the Board under the agreement of July 8 shall be presumed to be entitled to the increases herein provided.

Inexperienced persons employed in the trade less than three months at week work

shall not be included in the award.

In calculating the classifications of piece-work sections for the purpose of applying these increases, the same methods and practices shall be employed as in the adjustment of July, 1919.

The Board hereby authorizes the establishment of commissions under the chair-manship of Dr. Millis and Mr. Mullenback with representation of employers and workers respectively selected by themselves to elaborate and recommend to the Board standards of wages and production, and classifications of week workers. The chairmen shall have the deciding votes in cases of disagreement, and such recommended standards and classifications, when approved by the Board, shall become a part of this award.

JAMES H. TUFTS, Chairman.

## A Home for the Chicago Organization

At a number of massmeetings the report of the wage increase was received and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, a decision rendered by the Board of Arbitration was read to us calling for a substantial increase in wages for the clothing workers of this city which is a great victory for our organization, and

"Whereas, such progressive measures obtained by our organization were only possible through our class conscious membership and the able and self-sacrificing leadership which have brought our organization to its present exultant position as the greatest and most perfectly organized unit in the labor movement, and

"Whereas, our members have long manifested their desire that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Chicago should have a home of its own to accommodate the needs of our organization and to enable us to make further progress along organization, social, and educational lines, be it, therefore,

"Resolved, that we, the members of the Amalgamated Clotning Workers of America in Chicago, assembled at several large mass meetings on the 23rd of December, 1919, do hereby approve of the recommendation of the Chicago Joint Board that the first week's increase, \$6, granted to our members, be donated to our Organization to be used as a fund for the erection of a building, and that we further approve of the recommendation of the Chicago Joint Board to increase the dues by 75 cents, of which 25 cents is to go as additional per capita, voted recently to the General Office, 5 cents additional per member to be returned to Local Unions, 20 cents for an emergency fund, and 25 cents shall go for a building fund that will forever remain as a memento of the spirit of our members and the ingenious work of the leaders of our organization."

A building has already been purchased on Ashland Boulevard and Adams Street for the amount of eighty thousand dollars and the Chicago Joint Board will soon occupy its own home.

## The Members' Interest in Election of Officers

The election of officers by the Chicago Joint Board was a great demonstration of the members' interest in the Organization and their participation in its affairs.

The election took place on December 18, 19 and 20. All labor papers carried advertisements for two days prior to the elections, calling the attention of the members to the election and its details, such as time and nearest polling places. In connection with the ads in the papers there were also fifty thousand leaflets distributed throughout the city carrying information about the election.

There were twenty-four polling places with thirty-two committees, divided as follows: Two stations downtown with four committees working; four stations on the West Side with ten committees; four committees working in the Central Headquarters; ten on the Northwest Side and eight polling places on the Southwest side.

The polling places were laid out according to the districts the people are working in, and were easily accessible in all districts. All members were given an opportunity to vote. A committee was sent out to Chicago Heights, a suburb forty miles out of Chicago, where there is a shop of one hundred people.

The polling places were open from 11 A. M. to 8 P. M. and in some cases later.

There was a steady stream of voters during the three days in which the election was in progress. There were fifty official ballot boxes from the Election Commissioners' office.

The number of ballots cast by all Locals was 23,746, divided as follows: 14,599 by coat makers, 4,765 by pants makers, 2,268 by vest makers, 1,955 by cutters, and 159 by spongers and examiners.

There were 79 people working in the various polling places during the three days of the election, and there were thirty people working for almost a week counting votes.

# The Chicago Joint Board

For years the Chicago organization was composed exclusively of the employees of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. When the entire industry in the city was brought under our banner, a reorganization became necessary to meet the requirements of the new conditions. The Chicago Joint Board was then organized along the lines of the New York Joint Board. But Chicago has the advantage of having only one Joint Board instead of two as in New York. The Chicago Joint Board, composed of delegates from all Local Unions, transacts all the business for the Organization; all officials, elected by a referendum vote of the members, are responsible to it; in short, the Joint Board is the central authority of the Organization, with its acts subject to the approval of the membership. The successful conduct of the affairs of our large organization in Chicago would have been impossible without the Joint Board which makes of the many Local Unions in the city one great, harmonious and efficient working body.

The Joint Board has participated in various ways in work of general character and outside of our own organization. It contributed liberally to numerous deserving causes, such as relief for the war sufferers in Europe, the donation for which was \$20,000. For the steel strikers it raised the enormous amount of \$72,000; \$12,000 of that amount was received by the General Office shortly before this Convention.

## The Educational Work

Chicago and Rochester lead all of our local organizations in their work for the education of the members. During the season that has just closed there was in Chicago a series of high class musical entertainments and brief talks at the large Car Men's Hall with a seating capacity of nearly five thousand and a number of classes at the Joint Board's headquarters, Halstead and Van Buren streets.

The opening of the educational season, November 21, was pronounced an inspiration by many who were caught by the powerful spirit of that wonderful evening. It was more than an inspiration; it was a REVELATION.

All that inspires is beautiful. Our Organization has had many inspiring meetings and done many inspiring things. Without them the record of our organization would have been impossible. But the meeting in Chicago was more than inspiringly beautiful. It did more than reinvigorate us. It revealed to us a new power in our Organization, which was liberated by our own will. It has brought to us a new confidence in our collective self. That meeting was itself a beautiful symphony. It received with enthusiasm the masterly renditions by the orchestra not merely because it appreciated the soul stirring music but particularly so because that music was a true echo from its own soul. In the same manner did the vast assembly express its approval of the speaker's remarks.

The revelation was this: Thousands of people who had not been organized for years, who had won their rights but a short time ago, were capable of inspiration by something that was purely spiritual, that was thousands of miles removed from their immediate economic needs and problems. Did the attack upon our Organization in Chicago contribute to that spiritual elevation? Undoubtedly. But such elevation would have been impossible for people who were unable to raise themselves above the hours and wages level.

But yesterday those very same people were despised as unorganizable and sordidly materialistic. Did the Amalgamated remake human nature? No. There is no power that can do that. What the Amalgamated did was to release the best that there is in human nature, to release those forces which had been suppressed and almost destroyed because of their inability to assert themselves when the people were not organized and had no rights.

The revelation in Chicago applies to our organization everywhere. It seems that there are no heights which the intelligently organized Labor Movement is unable to attain.

The hope of the world today lies in the intelligent organization of the working class.

The entire series of nine meetings was as successful as the first meeting. The great auditorium was always filled to capacity by Amalgamated members. The evening was about evenly divided between musical numbers and a speaker. The speakers included Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, Clarence Darrow, Scott Nearing, Isaac Don Levine, Grace Abbott, Basanta Koomar Roy, Seymour Stedman, and James Mullenbach. The orchestra talent consisted of twenty-five pieces from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

A large number of subjects were taught at the classes as will be shown in detail under the general heading of "Education".

Chicago is coming to this Convention with a large delegation, but the representation allowed to Chicago on the basis of the constitutional provision is not indicative of its true strength, as the industry has been fully organized only in the course of the past year whereas the constitutional basis for representation is the average per capita payment for the Convention-to-Convention period of two years.

The presence of the Chicago delegation at this Convention will be one more proof of what workers can do when intelligently and democratically organized.

## MILWAUKEE UNDER AMALGAMATED BANNER

Milwaukee was one of the cities that had held out scant encouragement to the Amalgamated in former years. An organization had been formed there but it was short lived.

In June, 1919, Milwaukee placed itself definitely and permanently under the Amalgamated banner. Our forty-four hour week triumph carried Milwaukee in its sweep. The first response to our new call came from the Milwaukee cutters. At a meeting held June 13, Milwaukee Clothing Cutters and Trimmers' Union, Local 195, United Garment Workers of America, unanimously voted to leave the U. G. W. and apply to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a charter. General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum was present at that meeting. The charter was granted and the Local admitted. The cutters soon gained a wage increase of \$3.60 per week.

June 30, the English Woolen Mills signed an agreement with us on the same conditions as those prevailing in Chicago.

July 31, the Milwaukee organization entered into collective bargaining agreements with all important firms. A wage increase of 20 per cent. was won for tailors, with \$3 a week for cutters and trimmers in addition to a wage raise of \$3.60 which they received a few weeks earlier.

It was also provided that cutters receive a monthly wage raise of \$1 until they reach the \$37 scale.

The firms affected are David Adler & Son, Moritz & Winter, Lehman-Aaron & Co., Friend & Marx, English Woolen Mills and a number of contracting shops.

The agreements were approved at a mass meeting of the members. The negotiations with the employers were conducted by General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum.

The agreements with the Milwaukee employers are similar to those entered into with the Chicago firms.

Trade Boards and Arbitration Boards were created by the agreement. If the shop chairmen and shop committees fail to bring an adjustment of differences with the employer, the dispute is to be referred to the Trade Board. An appeal from the decision of the Trade Board may be made by either party to the Arbitration Board.

We reproduce here an exchange of letters, published in **Advance** of September 19, 1919, between the secretary of the U. G. W. Cutters' Local of St. Louis and the Secretary of the Amalgamated Cutters' Local of Milwaukee. The letters speak for themselves. The first one is from St. Louis:

It is with deep regret that I am again compelled to write for information, but as St. Louis is putting forth a bitter struggle against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are trying to mislead our people with false representations, therefore, in order to pacify our members, I wish to obtain at the very earliest moment your minimum wage and how many are receiving over the minimum? How many cuts do you figure a day's work in suits, also in pants? And if, and when, you are contemplating asking for another increase. Trusting this request will be complied with immediately, and thanking you in advance, I am,

Fraternally yours,

M. FRANK, Secretary.

## To which Secretary Otto of Milwaukee replied:

Yours of the 22nd inst. to hand. Am sorry to have let any time elapse in answering but could not help it. To begin with, this letter head, which partly answers your letter, undoubtedly surprises you.

We just preceded you, having selected and joined the Amalgamated last June, You are now last and all alone of the clothing workers once in the United Garment Workers, and it is time for you to quit and come over to where you belong, where all the clothing workers are now.

Milwaukee, I said, preceded you, for you will surely come over when you wake up. You commenced your letter by saying that you are again compelled to write for information. It was always thus with the U. G. W. of A. Never did they do anything for their locals. Even if you wrote to General Headquarters they could not tell you and would not care. The only interest and activity they have ever shown was in trying to get increases in salary for themselves and to perpetuate themselves in office, while the workers could look out for themselves.

On the other hand, if you were with the Amalgamated, you would not have to write for information in regard to wages. They would be in St. Louis on the job, would tell you what wages you should get, would tell your employers what wages they must pay, and, what is best, they usually get what they go after. They will get for St. Louis what they got for New York, Chicago, here in Milwaukee and other cities all over the United States and Canada.

You continue by saying St. Louis is putting forth a bitter struggle against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are trying to mislead your people with false representations. Shake off that prejudice, Brother Frank, shake it off. Look at the situation calmly, try and be a just judge and see whether these misrepresentations are real facts. If St. Louis is fighting the Amalgamated it is fighting against itself, its own interests, its own bread and butter, even if St. Louis does not belong to it.

It is amusing, but I cannot help it; St. Louis still with the U. G. W. of A., in the dark about the increase while all other cities in the country in this industry with the Amalgamated have had substantial, yes, splendid increases. Now, Brother Frank, why

is St. Louis the last city in the U. G. W. of A., last in the general increase in wages? Something is wrong somewhere. It must be your shiftless, inactive general officers who do not want to lose you on account of the revenue they get from you. Let me also ask what you expect in case your demands are refused by your employers and you are to go on strike? You are isolated and alone; cannot appeal for aid from your brother workers in other cities, and your men cannot go to work in any other city at this trade unless they belong to the Amalgamated.

It is noteworthy that I tell you what the General Officers of the Amalgamated did for us in less than six weeks of our affiliation with them. They got in round numbers about \$11 increase per week for cutters, 20 per cent increase to all tailors, signed three years' agreements to that effect with all the firms in the city which provide that none but union men, women and girls work in any shop, thus making all houses strictly union shops. For nearly 20 years of our affiliation with the U. G. W. of A. nothing like this was ever dreamed of, never thought possible and never attempted, yet in less than six short weeks this tremendous task was accomplished by the General Officers of the Amalgamated. This is no misrepresentation but a genuine fact. They also got the 44 hours for us and all others and for you, too. Another fact.

Why pay dues to an outfit whose sole ambition is to get fat salaries and do little or nothing for them, except to shine as leading lights at their conventions and for the next two years are not seen or heard from. We found that they did us no good and could not do us any good. Therefore, we decided to break away and join the Amalgamated. Even had we not joined the Amalgamated, we would have broken away and gone it alone anyhow, but had we not joined the Amalgamated we know that we would have made the mistake of our lives.

Now, Brother Frank, wake up, better yourself, shake off the shackles of listlessness and shiftlessness of the U. G. W. of A. and become a link in the invincible chain of progress, effort and energy, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, whose arms are outstretched to you to take you into its folds to help you as it did us and all others.

With the utmost good feeling towards yourself and your fellow craftsmen, I am as ever.

Fraternally yours,

HENRY J. OTTO, Secretary.

For the first time Milwaukee is coming to a Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. It is coming well organized, full of enthusiasm and with a message of progress and joy.

The following organizers are entitled to share in the credit for the success in Milwaukee: Nettie Richardson, Anton Johannsen, M. Conwisher and Leo Krzycki, and, also, Frank Rosenblum, in whose district Milwaukee is included.

# ST. LOUIS ON ITS FEET AGAIN

Two years ago we reported how St. Louis was struggling to organize and how the Bible House agents broke a tailor strike by repeatedly beating up the pickets and by persecutions through political connections. It was painful to see the workers crushed, but the odds against them were too strong to overcome.

In spite of all discouragement and defeat a nucleus was maintained in St. Louis and we were watching for an opportunity to begin anew.

We did take up the work again in the summer of 1919. This time the scab agency was unable to obstruct. As a result of the organizing campaign, the forty-four hour week and ten to twenty percent. wage increases were gained by the workers of seven shops in August, 1919.

October 6, a strike began against a large number of houses for wage increases. There came the usual police clubbing, arrests and also the injunction. The latter had been granted to the following firms: Knickerbocker Clothing Co., Epstein Pants Co., Carleton Clothing Co., H. Siegfried & Sons and Siegfried & Rosenberg.

Most of the firms settled within two weeks, granting wage increases of ten to twenty per cent. Against the others the strike was continued and they settled later.

Brother Frank Rosenblum supervised the organization work in that city as he has done in a number of other cities, such as Louisville, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Minneapolis.

St. Louis is now a full fledged Amalgamated member.

The following organizers were active in St. Louis in the past two years: Frank Rosenblum, Nathan Kleinman, Morris Conwisher and Anthony Ramuglio.

#### BRAVE LOUISVILLE

The Louisville clothing workers made their debut in the labor movement in 1917. They passed through a baptism of fire in that year and stood the test wonderfully. It was a strike against the firm of Shymanski & Sons, which lasted about twenty-four weeks, and was won by the workers. That was a remarkable achievement for a newly organized body of workers. The General Office gave the Louisville local full moral and financial support, but without the fighting qualities of Local 120 the assistance of the General Organization would have been of no avail. A full account of that struggle was submitted to the Convention two years ago.

That victory confirmed the conviction of the Louisville members that the clothing industry in their city could be completely organized, and they went to it. The Local Union was making steady progress and had hoped to continue doing so without a repetition of the bitter struggle of 1917. But they were destined to fight another battle, even more bitter.

January 18, 1919, the new struggle began. It was again with the above named firm, whose name has since been changed from Shymanski & Sons to Sherman & Sons. The cause of the strike was as instructive as the strike itself was interesting.

The firm had discharged three cutters who were members of the organization and proceeded to fill their places with non-union workers. It engaged Hugh O'Brien, a returned soldier, at a wage of \$5 a week below what O'Brien had received before he joined the Army. The firm then announced similar wage cuts for the rest of the cutters. Local 120 was happy to help returned soldiers find employment in their industry, but not by throwing other workers into the street and by reducing wages. The organization announced its intention to protect rights and working conditions for the old employees as well as the returned soldiers. Hence

the strike. O'Brien, whom the firm had attempted to use as a club for the reduction of conditions, joined the strike and in an address at a meeting of the strikers promised to stand by his fellow workers until the fight was won.

The firm closed its own factory and tried to get its work done in other cities, as the A. B. Kirschbaum Company of Philadelphia has tried since, and has met with like experiences. The members of the Amalgamated everywhere refused to handle any work that appeared suspicious to them.

In the month of March, Col. P. H. Callahan, a prominent citizen of Louisville, brought the matter to the attention of the Department of Labor. Mr. James Purcell, a representative of the Department, came to Louisville and made strong efforts to bring a settlement but failed. He issued the following statement, which appeared in the Louisville press of March 29, 1919:

The Department of Labor sent me here at the request of Col. P. H. Callahan, representing the workers, in an effort to bring about an understanding with Sherman & Sons.

My attitude is that of a neutral, and the object of my visit was to bring about a settlement of the difficulty if possible. The Government, through the conciliation branch of the Department of Labor, is at all times ready upon the request of either employers or employes, or at the request of business men in a community where the labor situation becomes acute, to send on an agent experienced in this sort of work to bring about a contact between the parties and help them reach an understanding with each other.

The War Labor Board has authority until peace is officially declared to require both employers and employes to comply with its adopted rule, but since the signing of the armistice the War Labor Board has declined to exercise its authority and will not interfere in labor disputes unless both parties consent to submit their grievances and abide by its decision. Both the War Labor Board and the Department of Labor, however, are endeavoring by recommendations, education and the like to remove the causes of labor disputes and keep down strife between employer and employes, and in doing so certain fundamental lines of policy are being followed.

Where there was a union and non-union shop before the war, we recommend and urge upon employes not to take advantage of present conditions to effect a change, and at the same time recommend to the employers to recognize the fundamental right of the workers to deal through  $\bar{a}$  committee, which is the principle of collective bargaining uniformly enforced by the War Labor Board when it exercised its authority. Sherman & Sons refuse to deal with a committee representing their employes. This seems to be the main point in dispute.

My recommendations to the firm to recognize this principle, which has been recommended by every department and every branch of the Government, both in its own dealings and wherever it could control the dealings of others with employes, was not agreeable to Sherman & Sons, and, as the working people consider this a fundamental to the discussion of all other questions, no progress could be made. I found the representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in a very willing mood as to all matters, but determined upon enforcing their rights to deal with their employers through a committee.

It is now a question of which side the Louisville public will support by its sympathetic judgment.

The tenacity of the Louisville strikers was remarkable. The General Office gladly gave them all help and encouragement.

August 27, after a struggle of eight long months, the hardships of Local 120 were rewarded when Sherman & Sons made an official settlement with the organization, granting a union shop, 44-hour week and a \$4 wage increase.

With renewed vigor the local undertook to organize the entire industry.

Louisville is now 100% organized. All of the 600 clothing workers are in the Union. The working hours have been reduced from 54 to 44, wages which had ranged from \$3 to \$12 a week, have been trebled. Ninety per cent of the members are girls and women.

Louisville is coming to the Boston convention with a proud record.

The list of organizers who worked with Local 120 includes the names of Nettie Richardson, Harry Madanick, Lazarus Marcovitz, Jack Kroll, Morris Conwisher, Anton Johannsen and Frank Rosenblum.

### IN THE HOOSIER STATE—INDIANAPOLIS

Our previous Conventions had no representatives from Indianapolis. The clothing workers of that city had not been organized and it did not seem as if they would be for a long time to come. But, as the spirit of organization, aroused by the Amalgamated, was gaining strength throughout the industry and overcoming all barriers, the Indianapolis clothing workers, too, became imbued with it. The usual first effect of resisted organization of labor—a strike, was soon there.

January 7, 1919, the day that saw the first agreement between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and employers for the forty-four hour week—Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago—also saw the first strike of plothing workers in Indianapolis for the right to organize. One hundred and fifty employees of the Kahn Tailoring Co., which employs about 1000 persons, were involved. The strikers applied to us for assistance through our Chicago office and General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz immediately proceeded to Indianapolis.

The important issue of the strike was the right to organize and bargain collectively.

A number of labor organizations became interested in the strike and brought help. The Electrical Workers' Union offered to pay for an advertisement setting forth the causes of the strike, but the papers refused to accept the advertisement.

The United Garment Workers' emissaries tried hard to prevent the organization of Indianapolis, particularly during the strike, but, as may be seen from this report, met with no encouragement.

It was an interesting double coincidence that while the beginning of the strike occurred on the day of the first forty-four hour victory, January 7, its end came on the day of the great forty-four hour triumph in New York, the memorable January 22, 1919. The settlement was brought about by Mr. Fred L. Feick, a representative of the War Labor Board. All strikers and workers discharged prior to the strike were reinstated, the right to organize and to bargain collectively was recognized and the working week was reduced from fifty-one and one-quarter hours to 48.

The forty-four hour news from New York, quickly followed by similar news from other clothing centers, soon rendered the forty-eight hour week a relic of antiquity even for Indianapolis. The employers realized that the forty-four hour spirit was abroad and that it would be unwise to try to evade it. Accordingly, the Kahn Tailoring Company announced on February 10 that the forty-four hour week would go into effect April 1.

The members felt that a new day had come for the clothing industry, and they undertook a campaign for one hundred per cent organization. In that work Brother Marcovitz had the enthusiastic support of Brother Ben Quitny, Business Agent of the Indianapolis Local.

Success came swiftly. In June the August Julian Company, employing 150 workers, signed an agreement which provided for a forty-four hour week, time and a half for overtime, equal division of work in slack periods, union shop and arbitration of differences that can not be settled in conferences. The agreement is for the period of one year.

July 10 the Kahn Tailoring Co. signed a similar agreement. Wage raises of \$5 a week were granted to week workers and 20 per cent increases to piece workers. The wage scales for all branches of the industry in Chicago are also applied by the Kahn Tailoring Company.

Negotiations with both firms were conducted by General Executive Board Member Frank Rosenblum.

A thousand members were present at the meeting that ratified the agreement with the Kahn Tailoring Company.

Lazarus Marcovitz, Frank Rosenblum, Jacob Kroll, Anton Johannsen, Harry Madanick and Hyman Isovitz (of the Chicago Joint Board) contributed towards building up a live and active organization in the Indiana capital.

Indianapolis is coming to an Amalgamated Convention for the first time but in fine shape.

## THE AMALGAMATED IN THE NORTHWEST—THE TWIN CITIES

For the purposes of the clothing industry, the United States had been, until recently, bounded on the East by New York and on the West by Chicago. In the consciousness of the clothing workers the vast country beyond Chicago had not been associated with their industry. All known attempts at organization and great industrial battles took place within the thousand mile stretch between the metropolis of the east and the metropolis of the west. The rest of our great country was, as far as the clothing industry was concerned, like a distant planet with which we were unable to establish communication, and of which we did not know whether it contained life or not.

We have now entered the Great Northwest.

The first call came to us from St. Paul, Minn. We issued a charter to the clothing workers in that city January 29, 1919, a week after the forty-four hour victory. The first visit by a representative of this organization was made shortly after.

Whatever the status of the clothing industry in that part of the country may have been in the past, it is important today. The industry is steadily developing, though along different lines than in the eastern markets. There are large corporations manufacturing all sorts of wearing apparel on a departmental basis—clothing, hats, furs, shirts, overalls, leather goods, etc. This situation calls strongly for one labor organization for all clothing trades. However, as things are today, each organization can only look after the workers in its own branch of the industry. We undertook to look after the men's clothing workers.

The Amalgamated Local in St. Paul was quite active at the time of the first visit of the General Secretary, February, 1919. Most of its members are girls, as are also most of the workers in the industry. They received with enthusiasm the forty-four hour message from the East. A splendid organizing campaign developed and it brought the forty-four hour week into the clothing industry in that city. The first settlement was made on June 6, 1919, when the firm of Gordon and Ferguson signed an agreement for the forty-four hour week, to go into effect July 14, a 22 per cent wage increase, Union recognition, abolition of sub-contracting and home work, weekly payment of wages in cash, and time and a half for overtime. B. Harris made a similar settlement. Within a few weeks, like settlements were made with other employers.

Writing to us in connection with the above, Brother Sander D. Genis, at that time Business Agent of the St. Paul Local Union, and now Manager of the Twin Cities Joint Board, said:

"Brother Rosenblum was with us and settled with the firm of Gordon & Ferguson. He has done wonderful work. The people were overjoyed when they came to the hall and found Brother Rosenblum with me. They realized that they were not in the battle alone. They then knew that they had more than 100,000 sisters and brothers who were back of them, and were ready to carry on the fight to victory. Then their courage was aroused, and like one person they cried: 'We want the things that we are entitled to, and if we do not get them now we will fight to the finish.'

"When the bosses saw the spirit and the determination with which the strikers were ready to enter the struggle for what they wanted, they soon asked Brother Rosenblum to come and negotiate with them. The result was that they settled without a strike, with the exception of one small firm—H. Harris—who employs thirty people, who would not grant recognition of the Union. I expect that by Monday or Tuesday he also will settle.

"I do not possess the words to explain what that victory means for our people in the Twin Cities, to be the first ones to establish the fortyfour hour week in the State of Minnesota. There is no doubt in my mind that it will be an example for other trades unions, and show them that their methods of organizing are inefficient and that our organization does things for its members.

"As to the members of the organization, I wish to mention the names of those who fully cooperated with Brother Rosenblum and myself and did all that was in their power to advance our organization since we have been in the field in the Twin Cities. I have never seen any more

sincere and conscientious workers than Sister Florence Bauer, Brother Bisnow, Eva Hollander, Samuel Cagan, Hazel Walker, Mary Baucher, Sister Christiana and Sister Clara Thompson, who was shop steward some time ago. Nothing was too hard for them in their work for the Organization.

"Brother Andrew Grecco is in St. Paul, and the two of us will start a campaign throughout the Twin Cities which we hope will meet with success."

When a Local Union was organized in Minneapolis, a Twin Cities Joint Board was formed by the Locals of the two cities, 155 and 160 of St. Paul and 166 and 168 of Minneapolis.

August 20, Maurice L. Rothschild & Co., owners of the largest department store in the Twin Cities, settled with our organization for the busheling and tailoring departments. The benefits secured were:Reduction of hours from 57 to 48, wage increases of \$4 a week to men and \$3 a week to women.

January 1, 1920, wage increases of 20 to 50 per cent for piece workers and \$6 per week for week workers were secured in St. Paul and Minneapolis. The following wage minimums were established: Cutters, \$45; men tailors, \$25; and women tailors, \$20.

At the time of this writing the five hundred employees of the firm of Guiterman Bros., St. Paul, are on strike for collective bargaining and an increase in wages. The strike began February 14, 1920. St. Paul probably had not seen a similar strike before. Pickets are arrested without cause. Indictments are found by grand juries on the most trivial charges. Brother Anton Johannsen, in charge of the organization's work in the two cities, writes:

"Of all my experience in the labor movement, I have never yet found a city where a grand jury could be persuaded to vote indictments against any citizen for such trivial offenses. If all that was charged in the indictment were true, it would be simply a case for the police court and the guilty parties would be subject to a fine of \$15 to \$25."

Many cases have already been tried and dismissed.

The firm imported scabs from New York, which is violation of a State law requiring that in such cases the persons solicited be informed of the existence of a strike, but the authorities refused to act.

A State convention of farmers was held at St. Paul. Brother Johannsen addressed them upon their request, told them of the work of the Amalgamated, and the Convention pledged its support to the strikers.

The members of the St. Paul and Minneapolis Locals are paying ten per cent of their weekly wages to the strike fund. The General Office is giving all possible assistance.

On March 29,1920, a strike occurred against the firm of Maurice L. Rothschild & Co. The strike would have been avoided if there had been machinery provided for the adjustment of disputes. The strike was ended April 5, when a settlement was reached in which the firm granted increases of \$4 a week to women and \$5 to men. The settlement was effected by Samuel Levin, Manager of the Chicago Joint Board.

The following have assisted the Twin Cities in their work as representatives of the General Office: Harry Madanick, Andrew Greco, Anton Johannsen, Frank Rosenblum and Samuel Levin (Manager, Chicago Joint Board).

St. Paul and Minneapolis are coming to our Convention full of hope and gratitude.

We close the report for the two cities with the following letter from Brother Sander D. Genis:

"When we trace the history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as far back as 1914 and begin to analyze the great progress which was made one feels as though six centuries have passed and not six years. When we realize the achievements of our organization all through the country, as well as in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the Twin Cities, it seems impossible.

"Members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have shown in the last six years what organization means. They have shown how to conduct an organization in order to derive the benefits of organization. They stand before the world today with perhaps the best conditions that any labor organization has yet obtained for its workers.

"Certain incapable, disqualified leaders claimed that the people in the clothing industry did not care to be organized, that they did not possess sufficient intelligence to belong to an organization. These were the claims made by the misleaders of the United Garment Workers of America prior to the existence of our organization. These objections were made by the officials of the United Garment Workers in 1915.

"After the A. C. W. of A. had been in existence a year it proved to the enemies of labor that the workers in the clothing industry were ready and willing to organize because they realized that they were members of the working class.

"In 1915, we, in the Twin Cities, succeeded in organizing a local of the A. C. W. of A. and during the short time of the existence of that local we greatly improved the conditions of those who were members of our organization. In spite of this the officials of the United Garment Workers of America in St. Paul still insisted that the workers did not care to be organized and did everything in their power to disrupt our organization. We had to fight not only the employers, who did not wish their people to join our organization, but also the United Garment Workers of America, who were interested even more than the employers in seeing that the workers of the clothing industry did not join the A. C. W. of A. We realized what we had to contend with and we decided to call on the United Garment Workers of America and give them another chance by joining their organization, hoping to obtain better conditions for the workers.

"I approached the officials of that defunct organization and presented to them the proposition to take us into their ranks and help us organize those who were then ready and willing to stand together to improve conditions. I shall never forget the way I was questioned as to my fitness and as to the other members' fitness to become members of that organization. After a brief conversation with those officials I was told

that I would be notified within two weeks whether their headquarters would consent to take in people who happened to be members of the A. C. W. of A. At the expiration of two weeks I was notified that unless we were willing to pay the initiation fee of \$6 we could not become members of the United Garment Workers of America.

"In 1915 wages were very low. The average girl was receiving \$6 a week and most of our members happened to be girls. They were not in a position to pay that fee of \$6 and as a result were prohibited from joining the United Garment Workers. This proved clearly to us how much interest the officials of the United Garment Workers have in the organization of the clothing workers.

"The headquarters of the A. C. W. of A. at that time was in no position to help us, and to proceed organizing under the name of the A. C. W. of A. was quite an impossibility for, as I said, we not only had to contend with the employers, but also with the United Garment Workers. As a result we joined the Journeymen Tailor's Union from which most of the members later dropped out on account of inactivity of the Journeymen Tailors.

"The Local that was organized in 1915 under the name of the A. C. W. of A. then ceased to exist, but the faith in that organization did not die. Later the A. C. W. of A. came back to life in the Twin Cities with much more vigor, demanding for its members the right to live and enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"In the short time the A. C. W. of A. has been in the Twin Cities it has brought marvellous changes in the men and women whose yearnings for a better life had practically been destroyed by the constant strain of the long working days. The Amalgamated took the operator, cutter, tailor, presser, finisher, and all who work in our clothing industry, and taught them that life does not mean working long hours for miserable wages. The Amalgamated told them that they were workers, and as workers are contributing their share of labor to society and are entitled to a decent return from society.

"As a result of these teachings, the Twin-Cities succeeded in reducing the hours from 60 a week to 44, and at the same time increased wages for members to such an extent that they are able to purchase some of the necessities of life to which they are entitled.

"The growth of the A. C. W. of A. in the last few months has shown the rest of the workers what a militant organization can do. Our organization has done more in the last 10 months than other organizations have done in the last 10 years.

"The workers in the Northwest realize that they are sisters and brothers of those who live in the far East and Southwest. They are a part of the class which possesses nothing but its labor power, and in order to exist under the present system they must sell their labor power to those who by virtue of ownership control the means of production and distribution. They realize that they belong to the class that has nothing to lose but its chains while it has a world to gain.

"The workers of the Twin Cities have learned a lesson. They will now continue their march forward under the banner of the A. C. W.

of A. with the rest of the workers of the world and I am sure that there is no power that will be able to halt that march until they have obtained the full product of their toil.

"The Twin Cities Joint Board is in the midst of an organization campaign which is planned to reach every clothing worker in St. Paul and Minneapolis. With the completion of the organization drive in the Twin Cities, an organization campaign will be begun in Duluth."

## ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Last March we received a charter application from clothing workers in Los Angeles, California. The application was accepted and a charter issued to them as Local 278 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. An organizing campaign is expected to develop in all clothing markets on the Pacific Coast. This extends the jurisdiction and influence of our organization from coast to coast. With affiliated Local Unions from New York to California, and from Quebec to Kentucky, an opportunity is afforded to every clothing worker in the two countries, who is still on the outside, to come under our banner.

#### ON THE HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS

We reported to the Baltimore Convention on our efforts to organize the workers in the small places in which clothing factories are opened. We do so in the interests of those workers and also for the protection of the workers in the large markets. Those efforts have been much increased in the course of the past two years.

As the influence of the Organization is growing, employers are seeking cheap labor in places where there had been no clothing industry. There is a constant exodus from the large markets into small places of employers who object to decent wages and working conditions. As the workers are organized and their conditions improved, the Union must extend its activities to the new places as they are springing up. We have carefully followed up those places and have given them all the attention necessary.

Connecticut Joint Board

There are a number of Locals in several Connecticut cities. In order to form one compact and effective body the Locals of Bridgeport, New Haven and Norwich formed a Joint Board on March 27, 1920, which has been chartered by us as the Connecticut Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Since then a Local Union was organized in New London, and the Connecticut Joint Board now has four Local Unions in four cities.

February 13, 1920, 300 tailors and bushelmen in New Haven struck for the 44 hour week and a 20 per cent wage increase. February 16 both demands were granted.

We may confidently look forward to good work by the Connecticut Organization.

## In Massachusetts

Two years ago, the only city in Massachusetts, outside of Boston, with an Amalgamated Local Union was Worcester. Today there are a number of others.

The Worcester organization secured for its membership the forty-four hour week and increases in wages. The members are grateful for the benefits derived from their organization.

Springfield has an active local organization. The Bauman Corporation, manufacturers of children's clothing, left New York for Springfield in the hope of carrying on its ruthless exploitation unhampered. It cannot boast of great success. It is now confronted by a strike of its workers. Its methods of exploitation could bring no other results. The Machinists' Union in that city has been very friendly and hospitable to our organization; also the Metal Trades Council. They have earned our deepest gratitude.

The following is a specimen of the advertisements the Bauman Corporation is publishing in the Springfield papers:

#### GIRLS: HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY

To Earn Good Wages at a Congenial Occupation—One That Comes Natural to You.

We can use about 100 additional experienced sewing machine operators—25 handsewers and 50 beginners.

We pay you while learning.

We guarantee you steady employment.

We work 44 hours per week. No Saturday work.

Every employe receives a policy of life insurance from the moment of employment. Groceries are sold to our employes at cost.

Young dependent children of our employes will be cared for in our Day Nursery. Come in at once and reserve your place.

#### THE BAUMAN CLOTHING CORP.

Employment Department, Room 328, Myrick Bldg.

The Matter of Carfare for Girls Living Beyond the Single Zone Fare Will Be Considered.

At the time these lines are being written the Bauman Corporation is trying to obtain from the Springfield courts an injunction against our organization.

There are also Amalgamated Locals in Lynn, Haverhill and Lawrence. The members working in Hingham and Stoughton factories are attached to the Boston organization.

#### New Jersey

In New Jersey, which is a favorite hunting ground for labor exploiters, particularly in times of strike, we have organized several new Locals since the last Convention. We now have local organizations in Vineland, Woodbine, Trenton and Paterson. In the latter city the working hours have just been reduced from 56 a week to 44. Wage increases have been secured.

There is a very strong Amalgamated organization in Newark, which is a branch of the New York Joint Board.

## Pennsylvania

There is an Amalgamated Local Union in Scranton, recently organized but already of considerable benefit to the members.

A number of other places in Pennsylvania must be organized in order to check exploitation of labor and strikebreaking. They will be organized as fast as conditions permit.

#### Illinois

General Organizer T. H. Tippett has been active in Illinois. He has succeeded in organizing a good Local Union in Streator, and attempts will be made to extend the organization through the State.

While the clothing workers in Streator were being organized by Brother Tippett, the following item appeared in the local press of January 6, 1920, which indicates the methods used to keep the workers from joining the Union:

Last night Mr. Bodenstein of the Crescent Clothing Co., entertained the forty girls who are employed in his factory, at a theatre party at the Plumb Opera House. After ward he took them to the home of Mrs. Fannie White of Lincoln Avenue, where a three course luncheon was served.

Miss Margaret White sang several solos and her sister, Dorothy White, also entertained the party with some songs. There was also some fancy dancing by Miss Grace Gibson, and Mrs. George Kenny surprised the guests with some fancy dancing done in evening costume.

This was but one of a number of very delightful times which Mr. Bodenstein has given the girls of the plant and they are exceedingly appreciative of his efforts to create a family spirit among the members of his force.

The first settlement was reached February 20 with the Streator Garment Co. who run a vest factory. The next morning the settlement was ratified by the workers. It provides for the 44 hour week, a \$3 wage increase and \$11 a week for beginners. Similar agreements were later reached with other employers.

At a meeting on March 8, the employees of the Schreiber-Hoban Co., coatmakers, decided to ask for a wage increase. The next day they were locked out from the factory. On March 31 a settlement was reached for Union recognition and substantial wage increases.

#### Child Slaves

The garter workers in Streator are perhaps the most exploited wage slaves. Their industry does not come strictly within our field of activities, but in their helplessness the workers turned to us, when we came to organize the clothing workers, and we were glad to give them our assistance. March 9, when the coat makers were locked out, the Jones Garter Co. locked out its employees in the hope of breaking their newly formed organization.

Only in China and other Asiatic countries are there wages and working conditions as miserable as those in the garter industry of Streator and other small towns near the big manufacturing centers. Children of 5 to 10 years of age are employed at wages of about 2 cents an hour. The garter industry is similar to what the clothing industry was before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers routed the sweatshops and compelled the employers to reduce hours of work and increase wages.

Much of the work on garters is done at home by little children. The buttons come from the factory on a band, and these must be cut off and strung on a tape. This part of the work is done by little children at home. The work is done in 12 gross lots, which means that there are 12 gross of buttons—1,728—to be cut off the band and strung for 5 cents. The children work far into the night to increase their earnings. They earn 2 cents an hour if they work fast.



The accompanying illustrations are reproductions of photographs of the little home workers. Before the lockout the children came to the factory every day with baskets, baby carriages and wheelbarrows with the work they had finished the preceding night and to get more work for themselves and the other children at home.

The wages paid the workers in the garter factory are relatively as miserable as those paid the babies and children who worked at home. The wage scale until the lockout was from \$5 to \$12 a week, an average for the entire shop of about \$9. Among the demands of the strikers, who are fighting the lockout is that for a 25 per cent increase in wages. Even 25 per cent will not provide a living wage.

The "Daily Independent-Times" of Streator, issue of March 12, 1920, published the following statement on this lockout submitted by the Misses Cousins and Baars as a committee of the locked out workers:

Some time ago, during the garment workers' organizing campaign the girls employed at the Jones garter works appeared at the meetings and asked for affiliation. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have heretofore only taken in those employed in the manufacture of men's clothing.

The question of the garter makers was taken up and a request was made from the Suspender Workers' Union for organization some time after it was agreed that the garter workers of Streator should be taken into the Amalgamated local here after the proposition was accepted unanimously by the girls employed in that work here.

Since then an agreement has been reached with the Streator Garment Company and that shop is now working under union conditions. Wages have been increased 40 per cent in this shop. The agreement was reached without a strike and the managers, Mr. Golberg and Mr. Kallish, are co-operating in a sensible manner.

The workers of the Schreiber and Hoban plant are also organized in this local, and after plans were made to present a demand for union conditions at this shop, the doors were closed to the workers last Tuesday morning. A lockout is now in effect at the plant.

On this same day, Tuesday, a committee from the garter shop met with the management there with the request for unionization. In the conference which followed Mr. Jones agreed that he would take the matter up with Mr. Stein, owner of the plant in Chicago, and that he would do all he could in behalf of his employees. This was satisfactory to the committee, and an appointment was made for the following day at three o'clock, at which time an answer was expected from Mr. Stein. In the meantime the Schreiber-Hoban lockout occurred, and for some reason the first plans of the company were changed and the girls were informed at noon that there would be no more work at the garter works. A request was made to have each girl call by telephone the following day and she would be informed whether or not she was to come to work.

The motive of this action was, of course, obvious to the committee, and after a meeting with the girls it was unanimously agreed that any more dealings with the management must come through the elected committee. The promised interview was again put off by the company, but was finally arranged for Thursday afternoon at four o'clock. A representative of Mr. Stein, who did not give his name, informed the committee that it would be impossible for anything to be done in the matter. And after an unsuccessful attempt to address the pickets who were stationed outside in the rain, the interview ended. The committee declared that it was impossible to live on the wages now paid and they may as well starve to death on strike as on the job.

The girls received an average of nine dollars per week, the scale running from five dollars to twelve dollars per week. Mr. T. H. Tippett, who is an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, has made some photographs of children at the plant. who get what is called home work. They appear at the factory during the day to deliver and receive their work. He claims that all the laws on the statute books and all the laws of civilization have been disregarded in thus using these children, as many of them are under nine years old. The matter has been taken up with the Child Labor Bureau in Chicago, and this week the firm here is making an attempt to slip out from under, inasmuch as the managers are canvassing the home workers' district, accompanied by a constable, in an attempt to have a statement signed to the effect that the children are not employed on this work. Mr. Tippett claims to have a copy of this statement which was given him by one of the home workers. The very appearance of the statement proves the fact, and everyone in Streator who has ever passed the garter works will be able to remember the babies that can be seen there with baskets, wheelbarrows and wagons.

In view of this condition and the outrageously low wages paid the girls in the plant, it is no more than fair that the girls now locked out receive the assistance of all other trade unions.

The Amalgamated Unions have pledged their full support, financial and otherwise, to these girls, and every possible assistance will be given them from that organization.

A committee from the Hoban & Schreiber shop and one from the garter works are visiting the other local unions, placing their story before them and requesting cooperation. In each place visited so far full support is immediately promised and word to coming from other organizations pledging support.

Members of the Trades and Labor Assembly have been assisting in the organization work here, and a committee from the new organization will visit the assembly next Sunday.

All that is being asked is a living wage, fair conditions and a voice in the industries. Inasmuch as the strike has been forced by the management there is nothing left to do but fight it out. Pickets can be seen at either factory and are welcoming the many visitors they receive.

In these days of high prices and of thirty-three and one per cent dollars, the nine dollar week for girls must go along with the four dollar pair of shoes. It is a physical impossibility to live on the wages now being paid, and if an organization can bring the pay envelopes in the vest shops to twenty-five dollars, it is hardly likely that girls belonging to the same organization are going to work for nine. The girls are asking all lovers of a square deal to assist them in this contest.

Miss Mabel Cousins is the president of the new local. She was employed at the garter shop, and is representing the girls on that committee. Mr. William Brunskill is the secretary, and he is employed at the vest shop. He is also acting as shop chairman there, and is enjoying his job, particularly because of the fact that the union has raised his wages 50 per cent. The only factory that is not organized is the Crescent Clothing Company, but if all reports are true. all the garment workers of Streator will soon be organized.

Contracts given by the Chicago firms which have agreements with the Amalgamated Union and all the Chicago firms having such agreements are supposed to be made under union conditions, with union prices. The question is whether or not the workers of Streator are entitled to Chicago wages. The girls on strike are loud in their appreciation of the splendid co-operation and fairness being shown them by the public and the press.

At the time of writing this report, early in May, the lockout struggle is still on. The locked out workers are receiving the full support of the local labor movement, the Chicago Joint Board and the General Office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

# ORGANIZATION AND FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK FOR SHIRTMAKERS

The shirtmakers were represented for the first time at an Amalgamated Convention two years ago at Baltimore. Immediately after that Convention an organizing campaign was inaugurated in New York. The shirtmakers were working very long hours at that time. In charge of the campaign were General Organizer August, Bellanca, a member of the General Executive Board; General Organizers I. Goldstein, S. Cutler of the shirtmakers, and J. P. Friedman of the cutters. The largest staff ever formed for an organization campaign in the clothing and shirt industries was working with the General Organizers in the effort to reach every unorganized shop in the Greater City. The campaign proved very successful. New members were constantly won by the organization.

A general strike of the Shirt Cutters' Union, begun on August 14, completely tied up the industry and brought speedy settlements with the employers. The cutters established the 48 hour week, reduced from 50, and gained wage increases of 25 per cent and time and a half for overtime.

The date of the strike was a great surprise to the employers. The members met Tuesday night, August 13, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, to consider their plan of action, the employers having failed to make favorable replies to the demands that had been sent to them the week before.

General Organizer J. P. Friedman, who was in charge of the organization campaign among the shirt cutters, explained that everything was in readiness for the contest with the employers. Therefore, it was voted unanimously by the members at the meeting not to return to work on the following morning.

The strike machinery was organized on Wednesday. By Thursday morning the entire industry had been tied up by the strike.

One of the features of the strike was the solidarity between the skilled mechanics in the industry and the poorly paid men. The skilled mechanics, whom the manufacturers tried to organize into a fake union on the night before the strike, responded enthusiastically to the strike call.

The strike lasted about three weeks.

The successful organization of the shirt cutters under the Amalgamated banner assumes added importance when we bear in mind that in the previous strike of the Shirt Makers' Union, conducted by the United Garment Workers, with which body the Union was then affiliated, the Shirt Cutters' Union of the U. G. W. helped the employers to break the strike. Today the Shirt Makers' Union and the Shirt Cutters' Union are united in a Joint Board and working in perfect harmony to the mutual advantage of both.

During the early period of the organizing compaign, in 1918, the Army uniform shirts were still being made. The employers sought to apply the oppressive conditions with the long working hours of the civilian work to the Army work. Those cases were brought by us to the attention of Prof. William Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, and the workers' rights were protected under the Government's standards.

Here is one instructive decision rendered by Prof. Ripley in the matter of a grievance of the Organization against the shirt manufacturing firm, Lustberg, Nast & Co., 581 Water Street, New York, involving the split eight hour day and the collection of Union dues in the factory:

Aside from the determination of a wage scale for the manufacture of army shirts for the Government, two questions of principle are referred to this Administration for settlement. One concerns the validity of the practice under the Eight Hour Law of splitting the working day so that the operations devoted to Government work shall not exceed the lawful limit, irrespective of the time devoted to civilian work; the other has to do with the interpretation of the words "legitimate trade union activity" under the guarantee of collective bargaining by the United States Government.

A number of cases have been brought to the attention of the Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing of a division of the day's work for the same person, into civilian and Government parts respectively, with a limitation of the Government employment according to the terms of the Eight Hour Law, but permitting the civilian work added thereto considerably to exceed those limits. It has been contended in these instances that so long as the employment on Government work by itself did not exceed either eight hours a day or such a day's limit as might be agreed upon not to exceed 48 hours per week in the aggregate, that no violation of the provision of the Government contract was entailed.

As against this contention, it may be urged that, in the first place, to permit the day to be divided into two independent parts, each to be treated as if the other did not exist, would operate to nullify entirely the intent of the statute. The law would cease to be of effect were the split day to be allowed.

But, secondly, the Naval Appropriation Act, in authorizing the President to suspend the operation of the Eight Hour Law, contains the following provision incorporated into the executive order of the President under which these contracts were made: "provided further that the wages of persons employed under such contracts shall be computed upon a basic day rate of eight hours' work, etc."

This provision for a basic eight hour day, therefore, applies to persons "employed" upon Government contracts. It does not merely prescribe a rate for the work done without respect to other work done, but it specifically states that all persons employed on these Government contracts may not work at other tasks of a civilian sort in excess of the eight hour base without the payment of time and one half.

Under this interpretation a person employed for 48 hours on Government work, if thereafter employed for another number of hours on civilian work is entitled to not less than time and one half for overtime just as if the additional period were devoted to Government work. An opinion to this effect was rendered on January 14, 1918, by the Acting Judge Advocate General.

As to legitimate trade union activity, the point at issue in this case has to do with the collection of dues in an open shop upon the premises during the lunch hour, or otherwise outside of working hours.

The employer contends that to permit the collection of dues in this manner would prejudice the standing of the open shop, whereas the union urges that the collection of dues in this manner from a large number of persons is practically impossible at their

homes, and that unless undertaken when they are gathered at their place of employment the trade union organization is put in jeopardy.

The so-called Taft-Walsh War Labor Program, proclaimed by the President of the United States on April 8, 1918, contains the following clause: "Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities." The point to be decided in this case is as to whether the collection of these union dues upon the premises in an open shop is a legitimate trade-union activity.

Conceding a measure of soundness to the contentions of either party, it is hereby decided that the rightfulness of this practice under the Government's War Labor Policy depends upon whether such collection is made by an employee of the firm in question or by an outsider. The distinction, in short, between collective bargaining and recognition of the union is clearly made. The Government has agreed as part of its War Labor Policy that the right to organize and to bargain collectively shall be recognized and affirmed, nor shall it be "denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

It is obvious that collective bargaining between the worker in an establishment and the employer entails expense, and that the money necessary to meet this expense may rightfully be collected from the membership. And it is equally clear that to permit officers of outside unions to enter upon the premises involves to some degree a recognition of the unions. The only way to avoid this latter difficulty is to prescribe that such collection of dues may be made only by those who are workers in that particular plant.

The great struggle of the clothing workers in New York, at the end of 1918, claimed the entire energy and attention of the Organization. When that struggle was won, the organizing campaign among the shirt-makers in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was resumed with increased vigor.

June 17, at a number of massmeetings, a set of demands were formulated and it was decided to submit them to the employers.

June 23, the following letter was addressed to the employers by General President Sidney Hillman and General Secretary Joseph Schlossberg:

The highly unsatisfactory working conditions prevailing in the shirt making industry have forced the workers to organize in order to secure some measure of relief.

They have formulated demands which we herewith beg to submit to you. The demands fall under three general heads:

- 1. Increase in wages.
- 2. Reduction of working week.
- 3. Collective bargaining.

The need for higher wages at this time is so obvious that mere reference to the very high cost of living, which is pressing most heavily upon the wage earner, is sufficient to justify this demand. In this industry the adjustment of wages to the rising cost of living has almost completely been neglected, making it impossible for the workers to keep their standard of living from steadily deteriorating.

The forty-four hour week, consisting of five days of eight (8) hours each and Saturday four (4) hours, is now the accepted standard working week, particularly in the garment trades, both men's and women's. In these trades the justice of this standard has been conceded by the employers. Inasmuch as Clothing Workers, Cloakmakers, Waistmakers, Furriers and others are already working the shorter week, the Shirt industry is practically the only one of the garment industries without the forty-four hour week. Thus the shirt workers are only following the natural course of industrial development by asking what kindred industries already have.

The principle of collective bargaining was officially accepted and applied by the United States Government in its war work. It is in operation in all of the garment industries, as well as in others, and in this case, too, the workers in the shirt industry are asking for nothing new but what the other industries, near and distant, already have.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of which the Shirt Makers' Union is an integral part, has collective bargain relations, in most cases on the basis of officially signed agreements, with individual employers and associations of employers practically in all cities in the United States and Canada where clothing is being made. Those collective bargaining arrangements have in all cases made for stability and regulation of conditions thus eliminating irresponsibility and chaos.

What was possible in the clothing industry is equally possible in the shirt industry, for the organized clothing workers, to wit, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The demands are as follows:

- A 44-hour week for all departments, cutting, pressing and operating.
- 2. An increase in wages of 25 per cent to all week workers.
- 3. An increase in wages of 40 per cent to all piece workers.
- 4. A minimum scale of wages for the cutting department, as follows: Spreaders, \$22 per week; trimmers, \$28 per week; short knife cutters, \$32 per week; machine cutters, \$35 per week; markers, \$45 per week.
- 5. A minimum scale of wages for all the week workers on operating, 50 cents per hour.
  - 6. Time and one-half for overtime work.
  - 7. No work, overtime or otherwise, Saturday afternoons and Sundays.
  - 8. Abolition of all sub-contracting and pressing.
- 9. A minimum scale of \$10 per week for learners. A learner is considered as such up to six weeks.
  - 10. Equal division of work in slack season.
  - 11. Week workers shall be paid for ten legal holidays.
  - 12. One person shall not work on two buttonhole machines.
  - 13. Abolition of piece work in the cutting departments.
  - 14. Collective bargaining.

We sincerely hope that you will give our demands your careful consideration and agree to meet us in conference in order that we may by mutual understanding avoid a great industrial conflict. We shall be glad to confer with you either as individual firms or as an association.

We ask you to kindly favor us with your reply on or before June 30, 1919.

No reply having been received, a general strike in the shirt making industry began July 1, 1919, throughout Greater New York.

The employers had it in their power to avoid the strike. The Union had not sought the conflict. It had submitted to the employers a set of demands and courteously asked for a conference.

The demands contained nothing unusual or startling.

The forty-four hour week has become a perfectly "legitimate" demand of Labor, enjoying even the approval of the thoroughly respectable A. F. of L. convention. This shorter working week has become the established standard in almost all garment industries, excepting that of shirts.

The demand for higher wages surely required no apology or explanation in this outrageously underpaid industry in spite of the towering cost of living.

The abolition of subcontracting simply means the right for the workers to free themselves from the most contemptible leech in the industry. If a worker must sell his labor power for wages, let him be able to do so directly; let him deal immediately with the employer on whose work he is engaged and whose money he finds in the pay envelope. Instead, he is compelled to work for the manufacturer mediately through a middleman, a subcontractor, whose only function in the industry is to pocket a part of the wages paid by the employer, to rake off some portion for himself in the process of transmitting the wages from the employer to the worker. No fairminded person could deny the justice of the demand that the subcontractor be eliminated. Wherever workers organize subcontracting vanishes. The Shirt Makers' Union has fought to exterminate that evil, and, accordingly, included that in the demands upon the employers.

All other demands are likewise such as have been made and secured by other Labor organizations.

The employers particularly objected to the last demand, the right of collective bargaining, that is, the right for the workers to be organized and act through authorized representatives.

The shirt industry is one of the great American industries. But for the workers it is the black hole of slavery. An industry that has thriven on the worst exploitation of woman labor and prison labor cannot be otherwise. There is no opposition on the part of the workers against woman labor as such in the shirt industry, but in this case women are being employed only because of their cheapness. Their labor is used

only because it effectively blocks the establishment of any sort of American standard in the industry for the heads of families, fathers of Young America. As to prison labor, this burning shame of capitalist civilization, the least said the better. While the helpless girl competes with the breadwinner for the family, prison labor undermines both.

Collective bargaining means the inauguration of some measure of decency and security and the protection by the collective power of the organized workers of their working conditions. No wonder that the employers, accustomed to complete rightlessness of the workers, strongly opposed the determination of the organized shirt workers to act collectively.

In the past strikes the shirt makers had not succeeded in presenting a united front against the employers. Usually the cutters would, with the knowledge and approval of their then officers, remain at work during the strike and assist the employer in crushing their striking fellow workers. It was different this time. The cutters, operators and pressers have removed all lines of division among them and conduct the struggle in perfect solidarity. The presence of the cutters in all committees, on the picket line and all other strike activities stood out in glaring contrast with the sad experiences of the past.

Since the Shirt Makers' Union has joined the ranks of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America it has made very encouraging progress. It has aroused a spirit of hope and confidence in the underpaid, overworked and brutally oppressed workers, for whom Hood, a long time ago, wrote his "Song of the Shirt."

The Union sought to avoid the strike, and asked the employers for a conference. The employers refused to consider the demands of the workers and thereby made a peaceful settlement impossible. The grievances of the workers had to be dealt with. The employers said to the workers in effect: "You can have no relief of your burdens unless you fight for it." The workers took up the challenge and they fought until they won.

The bulk of the industry granted the Union's demands within the first four or five weeks of the strike. Against the remaining group, organized in an association, the strike was continued about ten weeks longer. With some of them settlements were finally reached, with others there were no settlements. But the 44-hour week was made by the Union the law of the industry and wages were raised everywhere.

There were 988 arrests of strikers. Of these 488 were fined, some as high as \$250. Nearly all of the others were discharged when their cases were heard in court. Three strikers received 90 day sentences in prison.

The strikers received the fullest support from the General Office.

February 18, 1920, Dr. Henry Moscowitz, as arbitrator of a wage increase demand made by the Union upon the employers, awarded various increases to the several departments, effective until September 1, 1920, and recommended the establishment of complete collective bargaining machinery.

## 44-Hour Week in Philadelphia

On Thursday, February 12, at a general membership meeting of Local 153, Shirt Makers' Union of Philadelphia, it was decided to present demands for a forty-four hour week and an increase in wages of 20 per cent for week workers and 30 per cent for piece workers. The next morning the demands were forwarded to the employers. It looked as if there would be a conflict with the employers and the Union prepared for it.

At the eleventh hour the employers' silence was broken, and in a fortnight the majority settled on the basis of the forty-four hour week and increases in wages of 12½ per cent for week workers and 23 per cent for piece workers.

The employers realized that a fight would not be to their advantage. As an employer said to the settlement committee, in the form of an

apology for giving in to the demands of the Union without a fight, "the union of today is not the union of yesterday, and the people of today are not the people of long ago. The people of today mean business and it is no use to fight them."

This is the first instance in the shirtmaking industry where the forty-four hour week was won without a strike. This victory will mean a great deal, possibly the turning point in the campaign for an organized industry. For months organizers of the Shirt Makers' Union of Philadelphia and vicinity have paved the way for a 100 per cent organization. They have converted the feeling of animosity among union and non-union workers into a feeling of understanding.

The negotiations with the employers were conducted by General Executive Board Member Alex Cohen of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, General Organizer Nina Samarodin, Business Agent Agnes Rosenzweig and a committee of the Philadelphia Shirt Workers' Union. The victory was celebrated at a mass meeting.

# Organizing the Shirt Industry in Small Places

The shirt industry is very extensively spread over small towns, where labor is very cheap. The workers in those small places, helpless girls, are shamefully exploited. We have sent organizers into a number of such places in Pennsylvania, such as New Philadelphia, Tremont, Pottsville, Port Carbon, Middleport, St. Clair, Minersville, Shenandoah, Palo Alto, Tamaqua and Donaldson. In some of them we succeeded in organizing the workers and secured substantial improvements in their working conditions.

In their efforts in behalf of the exploited workers our organizers are meeting with great hardships. The State Constabulary was called in by the shirt manufacturers of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, to block the organization campaign among the girl shirt workers. One of the Cossacks, as the constabulary are called by the people, arrested General Organizer Ann Washington Craton last January in Tamaqua because she distributed circulars which called on the shirt workers to organize.

Mrs. Mary Heaton Vorse, the noted novelist, assisted the Amalgamated organizers in the Schuylkill County campaign. Mrs. Vorse spoke at a number of meetings in the small towns of the county, and was given a rousing reception by the girls.

Our organizers make their headquarters at Pottsville, which is the center of a shirt manufacturing industry in which about 2,000 girls are employed. There are scores of small towns in all directions from Pottsville, most of which can be reached by electric railway. In nearly every town there is a shirt factory. Some towns have several shops. These factories are run by contractors for New York firms.

Four girls were discharged from the Bob & Baskin shop in Minersville recently because they joined the Schuylkill County Shirt Workers' Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Although this is a union town, with a large membership in the community of the United Mine Workers of America, the city officials attempted to block the organization campaign.

The political boss of Minersville ordered the mayor not to issue permits for shirt workers' meetings.

Barred from other halls by this political boss, the shirt workers received an invitation from the United Mine workers to use their hall, and here the organization meetings are held. Most of the girls in Minersville are the daughters of members of the United Mine Workers.

Wages are lower in this district than in any other manufacturing district.

The following vivid story of the shirt workers in Schuylkill County by the talented Mrs. Mary Heaton Vorse appeared in ADVANCE of January 23, 1920:

# THE FIVE WHO WERE FIRED

Schuylkill County is the heart of the anthracite region. The Pennsylvania Dutch have given the towns their comfortable appearance, but every town has a mine for its heart and every one of these towns has also one or more shirt factories. Of all the needle trades, shirts are still the most underpaid and the most sweated.

This is how these factories came to be situated in out-of-the-way hamlets and little mining towns. When organized labor began to raise its head and organize various branches of the clothing trades, some enterprising city shirt maker had the bright idea of moving unostentatiously out of reach. They moved to the mining districts and invited the miners' daughters within their gray doors.

Some of the factories look like kindergartens. Here little girls of thirteen work in defiance of the law. They work, according to the factory, from forty-eight to fifty-four hours a week. They work for wages as low as \$3.50, while the most a skilled woman can make is \$18 a week. This is the pinnacle of wages made by a scant handful nor can this be made in every shop. Most workers are working eight and nine hours a day for \$7 and \$8 a week.

There is meanness about sneaking off to the mining communities to try to beat the trend of events toward better wages and better conditions. The firms who have done this are Phillips-Jones, Bob & Baskind, Salent & Salent, Lebowitz and Valentine. Until a couple of months ago these firms, undisturbed, made shirts cheap and sold them for all that the traffic would bear.

Then the Amalgamated Clothing Workers began to organize. A little organizer walked through the towns and began giving out literature. Wherever she went the girls ran out of the shops to meet her. Last Sunday I went with her to Minersville where the night before the Amalgamated had given a dance.

Minersville is a sturdy, red-roofed town whose houses climb up and down steep hills with cheerful alacrity. It is a town full of young people. I know that there must be grandparents living in Minersville, and that the young people I met must have w'ddle-aged parents, but my impression is all of youth—groups of red-cheeked young sters going skating, boys sliding down hills of glare ice, boys sliding down in old dishpans, babies sliding down on bits of carpet, children sliding down hill on improvised to-boggans. These and girls seemed to compose the entire population of Minersville.

Through every street the organizer passed little girls ran out of the houses to speak to her, gay little girls, defiant little girls, girls flirting with the danger of losing their jobs, girls who have by nature the fine, militant, Amalgamated spirit.

"We are not fired yet," they said. "You know Demski said that he would fire every one of us that went to the Amalgamated dance."

"I pity his poor bald head if he does fire us."

"There wasn't a bit of work done in the factory yesterday."

"Demski just walked up and down scowling at us and smoked a hundred cigarettes."

"Nobody is talking about anything else but as to whether we ought to organize
or not."

"Anna Paulowsky says she'll never join."

"Yes, and do you know what Mamie Ramanauskoene said to her. 'Maybe you are too good a friend of the boss to want to join,' she said."

"You will never get those old maids to join," Elizabeth threw out, "six old maids of twenty-five and twenty-six. They are sour on the Union. They say Unions are only for men."

Elizabeth is in a state of constant indignation. She broods smokily and seems always about to break into flame. She is one of those who Demski fired, though Elizabeth really fired herself.

"He called me a Bolshewikis," she said. "'Don't get gay with me,' I told him, 'I don't know what you mean but you don't mean good.'"

He fired beside Elizabeth, Paula and Agnes Morgan and the little thirteen year old Mary Restonsky who is a Pole, and The Widow. Everyone in Minersville calls her "The Widow" as a sort of tribute to the plucky fight she is putting up to support her four children. There are plenty of other widows in town, of course, because there is "miners' consumption" around here as well as in every other mining town and the "flu" made widows enough last year and the war made more.

This widow went to work in the little gray factory where they make shirts. She made \$8 a week, \$2 of which she had to pay for a woman to take care of her babies while she was gone. Besides she got a tiny pension from the state. Then, when the Union came, she joined it.

"The other girls can join or not," she says, "I got to join. I got four children to support," which is to say that you can trifle with your livelihood if you are single but not if you are a widow with four children. After the widow was fired, some cur came sneaking around to tell her that she would lose her pension too, for belonging to the Union.

So the same battle is being fought in small factories in Minersville as is being fought in the steel industry. The battle concerns itself with the right of the workers to organize for the purpose of bettering their conditions.

The methods that were used in the steel towns and Demski's are not unlike. Firing people was his classic answer to Unionism in his shop. He is using the same method to stop an idea that the Department of Justice used. Demski is an instinctive deporter. He is wagging his bald noodle to the tune Gary played with such a great orchestra in the steel industry.

Only a short time ago, with the news that the girls were organizing, he bore down on the girls.

"What's this I hear," he screamed, "you vas Bolshevikis."

"We are not Bolshevikis," said the girls, "we are Christians."

"We are Union Girls."

"W are Americans."

"You vas all Bolshevikis. You vas all making Bolshevisms in my factory. You vant you should be fired, everybody, yes? Or that I move der factory so there won't be no work for anybody," he stormed.

To cool off he lit a cigarette and went to the door. The little organizer was there waiting to give out notices of a meeting. His anger overflowed.

"Vat do you make on me," he yelled. "Do you make on me a Bolshevismus? You can't make Bolshevisms in front of my factory."

"I have as much right in this street as you have," replied the little organizer calmly. From behind Demski came a sound of cheering. She is such a dauntless person, the organizer, and looks so young, though she alleges that she has been through college.

Demski's definition of Bolshevism is simple. Bolshevikis are those who disobey him. They are those who join Unions, and you should treat them rough, you should kill them. To see Demski going on you would think he was the whole American Legion, he is so hard at work stamping out Bolshevism.

Demski sounds like the funny papers, the fat, bald boss screaming "Bolshevikis! Bolshevikis!" as soon as Union labor shows its head. But he is not funny; he is a serious symptom. It was characteristic of the day that he should scream "Sedition" at the first hint that there was organization on foot. Tar all organized labor with the name radical, it will be easier to crush. If you believe things are bad you can garrot them with a freer hand.

But it hasn't worked. They will join the Union; they went to the Union dance; you can't fire them all. Demski doesn't know what to do about it. His head has gotten bald and his stomach round bossing girls. He knows all about them. Girls are made to be worked, that's what! Girls are there to make shirts for as little money as possible.

Work 'em hard, treat 'em rough, keep 'em under; that's how to run a factory. Demski knows. That is, he did know, until something new happened in Schuylkill County and that something is the Amalgamated.

Another article by Mrs. Vorse amplifies the above

# SWEATSHOPS OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY

The town of Tremont is an all American town. That is to say, the people who live there came from Europe so long ago that they have forgotten when, and are proud of it.

In all the other towns round about the Pennsylvania Dutch, the outline is filled in by all the nationalities from the Balkans to the Baltic, but in Tremont the black and gold roll of honor next to the bank reads like the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Tremont, in aspect, is a town sound to the core. It mentions its self respect in terms of the stone and brick of its comfortable houses. Like all the towns in beautiful Schuylkill County, it is a mining town. Wooded hills full of rhododendrons surround it. It must in summer be a flowering garden and, while it is remote, it is not solitary. It has none of the bleakness of isolation.

But for all its solid brick houses and its cheerful brick sidewalks, it has a dark spot. It is a shadow which disfigures all of Schuylkill County—and that is the sweated labor of women.

The sweatshop has moved out of the city to deface the fair spaces of the country, for not only are the girls in the factories underpaid, but all over Schuylkill County work is given out to the homes.

Every evening you can see a boy coming out of the shop bent under a terrific load of shirts. These are distributed up and down the street. In some of those pleasant little houses with fruit trees behind them women are working with the same awful unflagging haste of tenement workers. Some women are working, of course, for pin money. The saying is, "They don't have to work." When you say that you imply that the children would have shoes on their feet and wouldn't go hungry without their mothers working.

But there isn't a miner's family anywhere which doesn't need some extra dollars and the proof of it is that home work is being done in house after house. In house after house the great gray mounds of shirts go in, in house after house there are women working until 10 and 11 at night. Plenty of these women are not working for mere pin money—there are widows, women with great families of children, women with sick husbands.

These are the prices they are getting: For buttoning and finishing, four cents a dozen; for labeling a cent and a quarter, plackets two cents a dozen, fronts seven cents without button stay and nine cents with it.

We sat in a comfortable little house talking to one of the women working on a huge pile of shirts.

"I only do this in winter," she said, "in summer I have a big garden that keeps me busy. What I make sewing is so small that it hardly pays and I don't know what I'd do if I were dependent on it like some women I know. Thy have to work grom morning to night to make out."

"How much can you make?" we asked.

"Well, if I work all the time," she said, "I can do five dozen shirts in two hours."

That is to say by working as hard as she possibly can, this woman can make 10 cents an hour. Compared with pre-war prices the purchasing power of that 10 cents is diminished one-half.

Question! How many hours a day would a woman with four children have to work to support nerself and them? How well would the laws protecting the work of women protect such a woman working at these starvation rates? How many labels would you have to sew on at a cent and a quarter a dozen to buy a pair of shoes?

In the union shop in New Philadelphia the button workers and finishers are paid 10 cents and the plackets  $9\frac{1}{2}$  cents a dozen.

Fox's factory is one of the places in Tremont where the piles of shirts come from. We stopped in front of it and the windows were filled immediately with young faces, hands waved to us, a quiver had gone through the whole shop. The organizers were there. The great question of whether or not to join the union would be discussed in every house where a girl was working.

The foreman at Fox's had stopped the power to talk to the girls about it. The reports of what he had said varied. Some said he had opposed the union bitterly, other reports gave it that he had said that unions were a good thing, but why should the girls want to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; why shouldn't they have their own union?

However they felt, and whatever they were going to decide, they were not indifferent and we on our part were eager to know whether it would be as easy to organize American girls as it had been the Lithuanians and Poles and Slovaks of other towns, all American born but with a different tradition.

One of the factories lets out at 4.30 and the other at 5 so we could cover them both with literature. Bob & Baskind's is a brick building sitting on top of a hill and overlooking suggestively the schoolhouse yard as though it were peering down to see how many little girls were getting ready to come and work in it.

The girls who ran down the hill presently seemed hardly older than the girls who a few minutes before had come out of high school laughing and sliding along the icy paths. In a moment a crowd of them surrounded us.

"Are you going to have a union here? When are you going to have a meeting?"
"When are you coming back?"

"Are you really going to give a dance? When? In what hall? With what music?" In a moment we were friends with everyone. They were so full of spirit, they ran out so eagerly to meet the idea of a union. The miners' daughters do not need to have unionism explained to them, they were brought up on a union button.

The stories of the great strike of 1902 form part of their earliest memories, yet, though the way is paved to organization, not every group of girls meets one in this spirit,

When, half an hour later, we went to Fox's factory, most of the girls hurried past us shaking their heads at our offers of literature. They ran along as though frightened by the bogie man. No need to ask which of the two stories was right as to the bosses' attitude, but we know that in the end—the net time, or the next—they will talk to us, for their fathers are with us. The United Mine Workers of America in this district are with us to a man.

Last night the Central Labor Union of Pottsville voted unanimously to give all moral support to the campaign of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They have been praying that these shops should be organized and that conditions should be altered.

But this condition of things in Schuylkill County is not merely the concern of the people of Tremont or the people of Pottsville or Minersville or the rest of the towns in this district.

It is the business of the workingmen of America, whose shirts are being made by sweated labor. The mothers of little children are sitting up till midnight stitching in the non-union labels of the shirts which they wear. Little girls, 13 and 14 years of age, are working eight hours a day and over for three dollars and a half and for four and five dollars a week making workingmen's shirts.

There should not be a miner in all of Schuylkill County who would be willing to put a shirt on his back under such conditions. They are probably buying at high prices the very shirts that are made by the sweated labor of the women folk of this county.

Not a workman in all the country should be willing to wear a shirt made under these conditions and the same should be true of all knit goods.

The following report from General Organizer Ann Washington Craton throws another strong light on the shirt industry in the anthra-

cite region in Pennsylvania:

Donaldson is a little town in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, inhabited largely by several families. One is either a Hatter or a Morgan or a Miller or a Wetzel. The men are all miners, fine, sturdy, stalwart miners of German or Welsh descent. Donaldson prides itself on its Union spirit. The United Mine Workers of America have one of the strongest Locals in the anthracite regions in Donaldson. They tell you with pride of the days of 1902, when the miners were organizing, when John Mitchell came through the coal fields, and when the great strike was called, how Donaldson responded. There were no scabs in Donaldson. There were no slackers. Women as well as men were arrested and were proud of it. Donaldson's record in 1902 was a record of heroism, personal sacrifice and undaunted, calm courage in the face of every hardship.

In 1902 and thereabouts, it so happened that almost all of the babies, in almost all of the homes in Donaldson, were girls. Perhaps the mothers and fathers were glad that they were girls and that they would not have to fight as their fathers had done, and that they were to help make history for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in its organization fight in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania.

About the time that these girls had reached the sixth or seventh grades, along came S. Liebowitz, running away from Unionism and fair wages, in the city, to open a shirt factory in Donaldson. The miners were not making sufficient money to keep their children in school, even though they worked long hours in the mines, so the shirt factory was hailed as a great blessing, especially by the business men. The town council exempted Liebowitz from all taxes, and gave him an old church, practically rent free, for a factory and into it went all of the little girls and boys of the town to make shirts for Liebowitz.

In January, 1920, along came two organizers for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to organize the shirt makers. They held a meeting in Donaldson and the town, always interested in Unionism, was there. All of the daughters of the old pioneer Morgans and Hatters and Millers and Boyds, who had made Donaldsom famous in 1902, joined the Union. But, unfortunately, there were a few who were not Millers and Morgans and Hatters and they did not join the Union. The Union girls were intensely scornful, but they were confident that the other girls would join the next day.

The next day, however, the foreman, much perplexed, and not knowing what to do under such circumstances, closed the factory, and sent everybody home. On Saturday, he brought everybody their pay envelopes and invited them to run to work, provided they dropped the Union.

On Monday, the factory opened with nine working, out of thirty-one. It seemed impossible that there should be scabs in Donaldson.

That evening, when the scabs came out of the factory, they were met by all the loyal Union members, equipped with drums, cow bells and horns and dishpans. And so were they serenaded and so were they escorted home. And so was the boss escorted home. And every morning, noon and night the nine scabs and the boss were escorted in a triumphant procession. Inspired by the spirit of the occasion, the mothers and fathers and brothers joined them, the same mothers and fathers who had drummed and belled and blown horns in 1902.

When the strike was five days old, only five little scabs were left. Early that afternoon, the strikers gathered outside the factory with their drums and cowbells and horns and their American flags. Donaldson is intensely patriotic and the Amalgamted pickets never went on the picket line without their flags. It was snowing, and they stood in snow drifts up to their knees, with their skirts frozen, singing "The Union Forever."

At five o'clock, the scabs did not come out. At six oclock they did not come out. Then the wife of the President of the Miners' Local brought hot coffee to the pickets, as they stood undaunted in the snow, and she also brought her dishpan and spoon, ready for her share in the serenade. Another miner's wife came later with wine for the pickets, while, inside the dark factory, the scabs and the boss sat hungry, unwilling to come out. Soon most of the town came, over a hundred strong, armed with anything which would make a noise, determined that they would support the Union if they remained all night in the snow.

At seven-thirty, the distracted boss begged them to go home.

"You will catch your death of cold," he said agonizedly. "You will die of pneumonia."

"We will die Union girls," sang out the strikers, while their mothers and fathers pounded a vigorous approval on dishpans and coal buckets.

At eight-thirty, the boss, who had aged ten years and lost ten pounds since Dora Lohse and Ann Craton began to organize in Schuylkill Courty, could stand it no longer. So he opened the factory, and he and the five scabs made as dignified an exit as possible, to be escorted home by the town. Those of the town who were not in the procession were on the porches to loudly cheer as they passed by.

When twenty-five warrants were served the next day for disorderly conduct the organizers were not surprised, and Donaldson was not surprised when the cases were dismissed, as the complainant did not have the courage to face his scornful neighbors in the squire's office, even though he was assured that Leibowitz would pay all costs.

Then Liebowitz got out an injunction. The sheriff from Pottsville, an old miner and a Union man, served the injunction notices at a strike meeting. Amid cheers, the girls received the very formidable documents as rewards of honor, while the sheriff apologetically assured them that he had to do his duty, but that he was with them and he hoped that they would win. The injunction notices were served indiscriminately not only to the strikers but to several miners, and to Dora F. Lohse, General Organizer, all of whom were mentioned as striking employes of S. Liebowitz.

Injunctions are unusual in Schuylkill County, and there was much excitement in the Pottsville Court House when Donaldson, several hundred strong, came to the hearing. The delegation supporting the strikers completely filled one side of the court room. On the other side the scabs sat, with scarcely twenty supporters.

Attorney James J. Morgan, of Pottsville, who had defended their fathers in 1902, defended the daughters in 1920, enjoying the occasion immensely, as counsel for the Amalgamated. He was assisted by Jacob Rothstein.

The first witness was Louis Rosenzweig, business manager for Liebowitz, from New York, very fierce and very officious. Next came Fred Wooley, foreman of the Donaldson factory, who made such a poor witness that his own attorney was indignant. Unless he testified strongly against the girls, there would be no case. If he testified strongly against them there would be no shirts made, for the girls would never return to work under him, and, after all, five little scabs cannot make a shirt and Wooley wanted shirts made. Otherwise he would be out of a job, for, if the girls refused to come back, Liebowitz would be forced to close the factory and Wooley would be locked out.

The judge was rather bored by the whole proceedings. Rosenzweig was shifting about uneasily, while poor Wooley squirmed on the witness stand. His attorney forced him to admit reluctantly that the line "Down with the traitor," in "The Union

Forever' song, sung so spiritedly by the pickets, was intimidating. The scabs and their friends looked gloomy and dejected, while the strikers giggled so audibly at the discomfiture of their late boss that they had to be called to order.

Before Moran had well begun his cross examination of the unhappy Wooley, the judge asked, "What's this all about anyhow? Why are we here? You tell me the girls will return to work. Well in Pennsylvania the law gives them the right to belong to the Union."

And seeing what would follow, McGurl, counsel for the prosecution, asked permission for the attorneys on both sides to retire to try to reach a settlement. So the three lawyers, and Rosenzweig, and Miss Lohse went into conference, returning in a short time to announce that Miss Lohse's name should be taken from the injunction, and that the injunction be continued temporarily, until a return could be filed.

The judge gave a little talk on production and on picketing and rights of Union and non-union members, and hoped that they would all return to work in an open shop and forget their past disagreements. And it was all over as far as the court was concerned. It was all over as far as the scabs and their friends were concerned, and they were glad to leave the victorious strikers in possession of the courtroom for a strike meeting.

The girls were plainly disappointed. They would not work with scabs. They wanted a Union shop. . . . No open shop for Donaldson. But the organizers finally made them understand that the Union must have time to organize Liebowitz's other forty-four factories and they could help by being at work. They became cheerful again, especially Mary Morgan, their dauntless little leader, who had absolutely refused to return to work.

"I can hardly wait to get home," she said.

"Why?" asked the organizer.

"So we can have a parade to celebrate," was the answer.

"My God," exclaimed the frantic organizer, "here you are just dismissed, and you are planning to do it all over again."

Then there was genuine disappointment. The day was saved by the arrival of a court house guard to congratulate the daughters of the men who had been such frequent and celebrated visitors in 1902. He invited them to see the jail where their daddies had been imprisoned, and they went away enthusiastically.

"We would go to jail, rather than give up the Union," they told him.

"I believe you would," the old guard said solemnly.

And they would. And it is that spirit which is making new history for the Amalgamated in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.

The efforts of the Amalgamated to organize the sweated shirt workers in Pennsylvania proving effective, the shirt manufacturers followed the example of some clothing manufacturers and turned for help to the scab agency known as the United Garment Workers of America. The agency came and with the club of its "official" standing in the labor movement undertook to assist the employers to undo the work done by us for the working girls. They succeeded in browbeating some friendly organizations into changing their attitude. But we are proceeding with our work in spite of all opposition.

## OVERALL WORKERS IMPROVE CONDITIONS

The overall workers of New York secured wage increases of \$5 to \$7 per week and a 48 hour week as a result of a strike that lasted from July 18 to August 12, 1918.

In February, 1919, Local 178 sent the following letter to the Overall Manufacturer's Protective Association:

The agreement entered into between your association and Local 178, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is to expire on March 1, 1919. There is a provision in our agreement that thirty days prior to its expiration we are to open negotiations for its renewal. Accordingly, we wish to submit to you the conditions upon which we shall be pleased to continue mutual relations. They are as follows:

- 1. A reduction in the hours of labor from 48 to 44 per week.
- 2. An increase in wages of 20 per cent.
- 3. A uniform standard of prices on extras or pieced sewing.
- 4. Sanitary conditions.

We feel that these demands are fair to you and just to us. The fact that practically the entire clothing industry in this country is on a 44-hour basis shows its adaptability also to the Overall industry.

The workers are entitled to an increase in wages in order to offset the reduction in earning capacity in the shorter working week, and because of the high cost of living.

The sanitary conditions in the overall shops have not been satisfactory and we should like to take this matter up in conference and plan some improvements.

The question of standardizing the prices on extras or pieced sewings in different shops is to the interest of your association as well as to ours, and is beyond question very desirable.

We, therefore, suggest that we meet in conference, either in the general offices of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, or at another place mutually agreed upon, to discuss the above points.

The conferences having been unsuccessful, a strike ensued. A wage increase and other improvements were obtained.

On February 20, 1920, a wage increase of 20 per cent. for six months was secured without a strike.

## CANADA GREETS U. S. IN SUCCESS AND VICTORY

Though politically separated, Canada and the United States are for all practical purposes one country. The work of our Organization was done in both countries as if they were one. Both progressed alike under the Amalgamated banner and both have identical reports to make to this Convention. Canada greets her bigger sister with the happy feeling of having done her full share in this great promotion of our common cause.

# Montreal Fully Organized

There are three leading clothing markets in Canada and a number of small places. The large centers are Montreal in Quebec and Toronto and Hamilton in Ontario.

Before the last Convention, Montreal had gone through a very exhausting strike. Since then progress has been made steadily. Though the settlement of the strike was made through a board which had acted as a connecting link between the two parties and no provisions had been made for official relations between the employers and the Union, such relations have in time been brought about by the patient and constructive work of our Organization.

In the Fall of 1918 demands were made for wage increases. On October 21, the Montreal Joint Board received notice from the employers—association members and independents—that beginning November

1, the demand for wage increases would be met with a wage raise of \$2 for all men, \$2 for women receiving less than \$15 and \$1.50 for women getting more than \$15.

General President Sidney Hillman conducted the negotiations with the employers on behalf of the workers.

The effect of the decision of January 22, 1919, in New York crossed the boundary line and penetrated Canada. The employers realized that the Amalgamated had won the forty-four hour week not for New York and Chicago alone but for all clothing markets. As the Montreal Joint Board got ready to submit to the employers a demand for the shorter working week, the employers announced the forty-four hour week on February 17 to go into effect April 1. On that date the 48 hour week was shortened by four hours in all clothing factories in Montreal. The members celebrated the event by an enthusiastic massmeeting.

Slowly but steadily Montreal was preparing to take its place alongside of the clothing markets in the United States in the field of industrial relations between the employers and the Amalgamated.

A number of conferences with the employers were held in which President Hillman, General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz and officials of the Montreal Joint Board represented the Amalgamated. In May an agreement was reached with the largest clothing manufacturing firms in the city, providing for the preferential union shop, collective bargaining, arbitration in the event of differences, universal increase in wages of \$2 a week retroactive to May 1, and the creation of committees to deal with underpaid sections or individual workers.

The firms entering into this agreement were the Freedman Co., S. Levinson Sons & Co., Saxe Clothing Company, Kaplan, Samuelsohn Co.; Fels & Lippe, B. Gardner & Company, Fashion-Craft Mfrs., Ltd.; Christie Clothing Co., and H. Kellert & Sons. John W. Peck Co. signed the agreement somewhat later.

The agreement was approved by Amalgamated members at a massmeeting in Auditorium Hall.

Brother Marcovitz and Brother B. Rishikoff, Manager of the Montreal Joint Board, conducted the negotiations for the underpaid workers. Wage raises of \$4 to \$8 a week were secured for them. BrotherMarcovitz has had general supervision of all organization work in Canada.

September 4, 1919, the members stopped work at four o'clock to attend a mass meeting at Monument National Theater. There the officers, who were negotiating a wage scale with the employers, reported that an understanding had been reached to have the wage scale completed on or before October 1, and that 25 per cent. of the difference between the existing wages and the new scale was to be retroactive to September 1. The report was accepted.

No agreement on wage scales was reached on October 1, and it was decided to leave the matter to arbitration. An Arbitration Board of nine members was organized, four from each side with Dr. William L. Leiserson, Impartial Chairman of Rochester, as Chairman. On October 31 the Board agreed upon the following scales: cutters \$38; Head operators, \$45; pressers, \$40. The Board later held a few more sessions and completed the scales on December 2.

Mr. Charles B. Barnes, former head of the New York State Em-

ployment Bureau and Federal Director in New York State for the U. S. Employment Service, was chosen Impartial Chairman for the Montreal Market by the Amalgamated and the Montreal Clothing Manufacturers' Association, December 4, 1919. Mr. G. W. Ramacker is labor manager for the Association.

On April 29, 1920, the Impartial Chairman rendered a decision granting the following wage increases: \$5 a week to men and \$3 a week to women; \$3 to men earning less than \$18 a week; \$2 to women earning less than \$10 a week; \$7 a week to cutters and \$6 a week to trimmers.

The award is to be in effect from May 1, to December 1.

The decision also directs the appointment of joint committees to deal with the following subjects:

The readjustment of some of the present scales.

The establishing of new scales.

A period of training and wages for apprentice cutters and trimmers.

A minimum wage for beginners.

The award was ratified at a massmeeting at Mount Royal Arena April 30, 4 p. m. Brother Lazarus Marcovitz spoke and explained the decision. The first week's increase was voted for the reserve fund.

The Montreal Joint Board now controls labor conditions in the entire market. An organization campaign is carried on in the small towns

near Montreal. A Local has already been formed in Joliette.

Brother Rishikoff, Manager of the Montreal Joint Board, and Brother Duquette, representative of the French Canadian Local, are

cooperatin with Brother Marcovitz.

In order to assist the French Canadian Local in its work, two women organizers have been assigned to Montreal: Mme. Blanche Rompre and Mme. Anita Passon-Baldock, and a French department has been established in Advance.

Efforts are being made to organize the shirtmakers in Montreal.

The Joint Board has not neglected the Educational work for its members. Lectures and classes were organized for their benefit.

Financial contributions were made for various deserving causes. Montreal is coming to this convention in splendid condition.

## Toronto Forging Ahead

Toronto had the distinction of having been the first clothing market with the 44-hour week. Most of the clothing workers in that city enjoyed that shorter week, while the workers in other markets were struggling for the 48-hour week. In 1918, following the great contest in New York, the entire Toronto market came under the 44-hour rule.

A successful organization campaign steadily increased the strength and influence of the Organization and bringing wages to a higher standard and more in keeping with the rising cost of living. On May 6, 1919, the membership was overjoyed when a strike against the large firm of W. R. Johnston, granted its employees a forty per cent. wage increase and agreed to enter into collective bargaining agreement. Negotiations with that end in view were soon taken up and an agreement was signed July 14, 1919.

As the employers come to realize that the Union has come to Toronto, and come to stay, they were ready to meet with us and reach an understanding for future relations. Conferences between President Hillman, Board Member Marcovitz and Manager H. D. Rosenbloom of the Toronto Joint Board for the Amalgamated and representatives of

the Associated Clothing Manufacturers of Toronto resulted in an agreement with that association.

The agreement provides for preferential Union shops, collective bargaining, arbitration of disputes and a forty-four hour week except at the House of Hobberlin where there is to be a forty hour week. Overtime will be paid for at the rate of time and a half with double time for federal holidays.

The agreement is to remain in effect until June 1, 1920. On or about January 15 and July 15 of each year representatives of the Amalagamated and the Association are to meet to determine the wage scale. The agreement provided for a wage scale to be worked out and fifty

per cent. of the increase to be retroactive to September 1.

When an employe feels aggrieved he shall present his complaint to the shop steward, who shall take the matter up with the shop superintendent. In the event that they are not able to agree, the shop steward shall report the matter to a representative of the Amalgamated, who in turn shall take up the matter with a representative of the employer. In the event that these two are unable to agree on an adjustment, the grievance shall then be presented to the Board of Arbitration within three days.

On August 21, all clothing workers stopped work at 3.30 in the afternoon and went to Massey Hall to ratify agreement. The members of the Association posted notices of the early closing in the shops, an-

nouncing that the workers would be paid for the time lost.

The agreement was adopted unanimously with a great shout of assent. Addresses were made at the mass meeting by General President

Hillman, Board Member Marcovitz and Manager Rosenbloom.

The members again assembled at Massey Hall on October 15 for the ratification of the wage scale agreement with the employers. The agreement provided for scales that brought wage increases of \$6 to \$13 a week. The scales become effective November 1. Fifty per cent of the difference between the old wages and the new scales was retroactive to September 1.

Work was stopped at 3 o'clock in the afternoon to permit all members of the Amalgamated to attend the mass meeting. Among those who spoke at the meeting were General Executive Board Member Lazarus Marcovitz and H. D. Rosenbloom of the Toronto Joint Board.

Dr. H. B. Sharman is the Impartial Chairman for the Montreal mar-

ket, chosen by the Union and the Association.

On February 17 the Union and the Association arrived at an understanding to discontinue contracting in the Toronto clothing market.

On April 26, Dr. Sharman, Brother Marcovitz and Brother Rosenbloom announced at a mass meeting at Massey Hall the following wage increases: Five dollars a week for all men; three dollars a week for all women. For beginners who started to work March 1, 1920, men, three dollars; women, two dollars. The first week's increase was voted by the meeting for a reserve fund for the Organization.

• The Convention will have a happy delegation from Toronto.

# Hamilton a Solid Link in the Amalgamated Chain

Hamilton had not brought us much encouragement in the past; it

is a very cheerful member of our family today.

In February, 1919, when the employers everywhere were making haste to comply with the New York 44-hour decision, the Hamilton

clothing manufacturers also announced the shorter week to go into effect April 1. Thus, though the Hamilton workers were unorganized and had done nothing to help New York win its fight they benefited by its outcome. We undertook to see to it, however, that Hamilton does not forever remain with a small and struggling Local Union. We decided to bring Hamilton into the Organized Column.

In due time an organizing campaign was undertaken. It was greatly stimulated and enlivened when Brother Isaac Bainbridge was appointed General Organizer and assigned to lead that campaign. Brother Bainbridge is well known in the progressive labor movement of Canada and

we are glad to have him in our midst.

The expected and desired results materialized. Hamilton was organizing and quickly moving to the one hundred per cent. point.

Conferences with the employers were taken up and wage increases agreed upon. Brothers Marcovitz and Bainbridge represented the Amalgamated in those conferences.

On November 6 the Hamilton clothing workers stopped work at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and attended a meeting at I. O. O. F. Temple to vote on the wage increase report. In addition to wage raises of 15 per cent., promised by the employers before the negotiations began, those getting less than \$20 a week got a wage raise of \$1.50; those getting more than \$20 a week got \$1 a week in addition to the other in-The report was accepted with cheers and brought more members into the Organization.

The Conferences in connection with the above wage raises were later followed up and in April they resulted in the signing of a collective bargaining agreement with the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Hamilton. The new agreement carried with it a wage raise of \$7 to the men and \$6 to the women beginning from June 1, 1920. The increase for learners, who began to work March 1, 1920, will be: Men. \$3.50:

women. \$3.

The agreement and wage raises were ratified at an enthusiastic mass meeting. At that meeting the first week's increase was voted for a reserve fund for the organization.

The agreement includes the following firms: W. E. Sanford; Copley, Noyes and Randall; Thornton Douglas; Firth Bros.; Lyons Tailor-

ing Company; Royal Tailors; William Farrar and Davis Bros.

The terms of the Hamilton agreement apply also to the Crafton Clothing Company in Dundas, a town near Hamilton.

Hamilton is coming as a victor to this Convention.

# THE AMALGAMATED FAMILY

We have now 145 Local Unions and 16 Joint Boards in 40 cities and 14 States and 2 Provinces. One hundred and twenty-two Locals are

affiliated with Joint Boards and 23 Locals are not.

Since the last Convention we have issued 48 charters and withdrawn 15. Of the latter, 13 have amalgamated and 2 ceased to exist. Of the 13, 5 have merged under the numbers of Existing Locals and 8 under new numbers, thus reducing the number of Locals by 10.

#### States

New York Massachusetts Maryland Ohio

Illinois Indiana Minnesota New Jersey

Connecticut Pennsylvania Missouri Wisconsin

Kentucky California

#### Provinces

## Quebec Ontario

## Cities

Baltimore, Md. Bridgeport, Conn. Chicago, Ill. Cleveland, O. Haverhill, Mass. Joliette, Que. Louisville, Ky. Milwaukee, Wis. Montreal, Can. New York, N. Y. Newark, N. J. Paterson, N. J. Philadelphia, Pa. Scranton, Pa. St. Paul, Minn. Syracuse, N. Y. Trenton, N. J. Worcester, Mass. Utica, N. Y. New London, Conn. Boston, Mass. Buffalo, N. Y. Cincinnati, O. Hamilton, Ont. Indianapolis, Ind. Lawrence, Mass. Lynn, Mass. Minneapolis, Minn. New Haven, Conn. New Philadelphia, Pa. Norwich, Conn. Pittsburgh, Pa. Rochester, N. Y. St. Louis, Mo. Streator, Ill. Toronto, Ont. Vineland, N. J. Woodbine, N. J. Los Angeles, Cal. Springfield, Mass.

# CHARTERS ISSUED TO LOCAL UNIONS SINCE MAY 1, 1918

Local No	o. City Name	Charte	ered	
* 5	New York, N. Y., Coat Operators	August	11,	1919
* 50	New York, N. Y., Buttonhole Makers			
* 60	Philadelphia, Pa., Children's Jackets and Knee Pants I	Makers February	9,	1920
86	Pittsburg, Pa., Clothing Workers	January	3,	1919
*100	Baltimore, Md., Polish Tailors	February	4,	1919
102	Boston, Mass., Italian Coat Makers	April	9,	1920
104	Utica, N. Y., Clothing Workers	May	3,	1919
124	Cleveland, O., Cutters	May	3,	1919
125	Cleveland, O., Bushelman and Pressers	August	7,	1919
137	Scranton, Pa., Clothing Workers	October	10,	1919
145	Indianapolis, Md., Clothing Workers	January	2,.	1919
154	Lynn, Mass., Custom Tailors	September	4,	1918
155	St. Paul, Minn., Clothing Workers	January	29,	1919
156	Haverhill, Mass., Clothing Workers	January	15,	1920
160	St. Paul, Minn., Custom Tailors	March	10,.	1919
163	Red Bank, N. J., Clothing Workers	October	30,	1918
164	New Philadelphia, Pa., Shirt Workers	August	18,	1919
166	Minneapolis, Minn., Custom Tailors	Auril	7,	1919
168	Minneapolis, Minn., Dry Cleaners and Dyers	December	1,	1919
181	Boston, Mass., Cutters	April	1,	1919
182	Boston, Mass., Cleaners and Dyers	November	13,	1919
184	Springfield, Mass., Clothing Workers	June	24,	1919
185	Lawrence, Mass., Clothing Workers	August	30.	1919

	188	Cincinnati, O., Clothing Workers
	189	Cincinnati, O., Cutters
	195	Milwaukee, Wis., CuttersJune 16, 1919
	199	Trenton, N. J., Clothing Workers
	200	Rochester, N. Y., PressersJuly 15, 1918
	205	Rochester, N. Y., CuttersMarch 8, 1919
	206	Rochester, N. Y., Polish Coat Tailors and OperatorsApril 1, 1919
	223	Bridgeport, Conn., Clothing Workers
	224	Paterson, N. J., Custom Tailors
	225	Baltimore, Md., Custom TailorsJuly 15, 1918
	226	Buffalo, N. Y., Cutters
	227	Rochester, N. Y., Pants and Vest Makers
	228	Rochester, N. Y., Stock Clerks, Shippers and Label Sewers October 1, 1919
,	229	Joliette, Que., Can., Clothing Workers
	231	Montreal, Can., Cloth SpongersJanuary 14, 1920
	239	New London, Conn., Clothing Workers
	240	New York, N. Y., Clothing Drivers and HelpersAugust 16, 1918
	243	New York, N. Y., Shirt PressersJuly 9, 1918
	246	New York, N. Y., Shirt Cutters
	260	New York, N. Y., Retail and Custom Stores BushelmenAugust 30, 1919
	270	Chicago, Ill., Italian Coat MakersJune 16, 1919
	271	Chicago, Ill., Spongers and ExaminersJuly 18, 1919
	272	Chicago, Ill., Sewing Machine Adjusters,October 24, 1919
	278	Los Angeles, Cal., Clothing Workers
	279	Streator, Ill., Clothing WorkersJanuary 22, 1920
	*A	malgamation of two or more existing Local Unions.

# Locals Whose Charters Were Discontinued Because of Amalgamation With Other Locals.

9	New York, N. Y.	69	Baltimore, Md.				
72	New York, N. Y.	119	Baltimore, Md.				
156	New York, N. Y.	213	New York, N. Y.				
214 244	New York, N. Y.	215	New York, N. Y.				
244	New York, N. Y Philadelphia, Pa.	245	New York, N. Y.				
281	Philadelphia, Pa.	259	New York, N. Y.				
Locals Ceased to Exist							
119	Baltimore, Md.	163	Red Bank, N. J.				

## OUR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

# Our official journals in the order of their appearance:

Fortschritt, YiddishApril 2,	1915
Il Lavoro, ItalianSeptember 11,	1915
Advance, English	1917
Industrial Democracy, PolishOctober 1,	1917
Industrial Democracy, Bohemian October 1,	1917
Darbas, Lithuanian	1918
Rabotchy Golos, RussianSeptember 1.	1919
French Department of Advance March 12,	1920

# MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Every year, as May Day is approaching, the General Office issues a call to all local organizations to celebrate that day in a manner befitting our organization. The following call was issued March 8, 1919:

The First of May is an official holiday of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This day has for many years been celebrated by the progressive labor move-

ments of the world as an International Labor Day.

During the past four years it seemed as if the mutual warfare among the nations of the world, and the effect it had upon the working classes, was a denial of the spirit of Labor's May Day. But the spirit of the universal brotherhood of the working class is very much alive today. This is the first May Day since the war ended. Now the working classes of the world are being called upon to demonstrate the rebirth of Labor's International; or, rather, the birth of a New Labor International. The message of May Day today is as much different from the message of the May Days of the past, as the world to-day is different from what it was before the war.

Our organization has never failed to celebrate this great Working Class Holiday. All of our May Day celebrations have taken place during war times. This is our first opportunity to celebrate May Day in time of peace. It is therefore, fitting for us to make the coming May Day a Red Letter Day in the history of our organization.

We have very much to be thankful for; we have still more to strive for. Our latest achievement, the 44-hour week, was so sweeping and so radical an event as to justify the greatest celebration we can possibly arrange for.

We have made our place in the Labor Movement, and in public life generally, in this country, by sheer force of the bona fide working class character of our organization, of our principles and our policies.

You are, therefore, asked to take immediately such steps as may be necessary in order to arrange for such a celebration of the coming May Day as will give the best, clearest, and most inspiring expression of the spirit of our militant organization.

I ask you to inform me at once what action you have decided to take.

With complete confidence in a successful May Day demonstration by our great membership, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

#### JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

Gen. Sec'y, A. C. W. of A.

The day was celebrated by our members everywhere.

In New York, where the members were still flushed with the victory of January 22, Madison Square Garden was again hired, as the year before. A concert of the highest artistic order was arranged and addresses were to be made on the meaning of the day. Our program for that meeting was not carried out as we had wished. The following from ADVANCE will explain why:

Our May Day demonstration at Madison Square Garden, New York, was unusual in more than one way.

It is unusual for a labor organization to fill the colossal auditorium, on a rainy week day afternoon, with its own members, who give up a day's work and purchase tickets in order to attend a high class concert. It was our second gathering of this nature. The first one was held on May Day, 1918.

When the New York Joint Board asked its members to gather at Madison Square Garden a year ago, in order to celebrate Labor's Holiday, many of our friends were amazed at the boldness of the attempt. Madison Square Garden had seen many great working class demonstrations, where stirring addresses were delivered, but who had ever

heard of a labor organization attempting to fill the huge amphitheatre with its own members, instead of a promiscuous gathering; on a weekday afternoon, instead of in the evening, when no working time is lost; paying an admission fee instead of entering free of charge?

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was the first labor organization to undertake that gigantic task, as it was the first to undertake other great tasks; and it made good in this case as it did in others. Our members came, paid for tickets, enjoyed vocal and instrumental music of the highest order, and also addresses that gave expression to the sentiments of the occasion. It was a record breaking May Day celebration, a new source of inspiration and encouragement.

The members were so impressed by the phenomenal success of last year's celebration that they decided to celebrate in the same manner this year. Accordingly, Madison Square Garden was taken, great musical artists were engaged at enormous expense, and all other arrangements were made compatible with the sacred character of the day.

If anything, the celebration this time excelled that of a year ago. The program was carried out as planned, except in one respect—no speeches were made. The general officers and Charles Ervin, Editor of the Call, were scheduled for short addresses. As expected, the great audience enjoyed the splendid music, frequently continued their thunderous applause until the artists responded with an encore. But they were waiting for the spoken May Day message that had been promised them. It was May Day that brought them together, not the fine concert. The latter was only one form of celebrating the great day. It was because of May Day that they had sacrificed a day's work, left the industry at a standstill, and come in a pouring rain to meet their fellow workers. They wanted those who were chosen as their spokesmen to interpret their own sentiments and give articulate expression to the spirit that imbued and thrilled them all.

And there was so much to give expression to. May Day this year was not an ordinary May Day. So many things of vital interest to the working world have happened during the past twelve months, so great have been our own achievements, and so wonderful are the possibilities of the future that volumes may be written without exhausting the subject. The war has ended; autocracies have been overthrown; the peoples of the world are awakening; we have achieved the forty-four week, and brought a better life and renewed hope for a happier future to the toilers of the great clothing industry; there are serious grievances against the powers that be; there are urgent demands that labor should press and enforce; all of which was deeply felt by the great audience, and they were yearning to give expression to it. They were waiting for the speakers to speak. There were no speeches needed to tell the great audience the meaning of all those things. They knew it well. That was why they came. But they could not all speak to give vent to their feelings and the selected speakers were to speak for them, interpret their own feelings to them so that they might thereby consecrate themselves to the spirit of the Day.

The addresses were not made. The spiritual gap remained unfilled. The faces of those present showed it when they were leaving the hall. The audience sensed that something unusual had happened, and as they were filing out from the place, sought an answer to the question, "Why were the speeches omitted?"

They were omitted for the protection of the men, women and children who had gathered to celebrate.

All who were responsible for the arrangements of the festival were elated and happy at the success when the program began. But soon something happened that was intended to transform the great gathering of twelve thousand honest, hardworking and peace loving people into a genuine pogrom of the good old Russian days. Hundreds of young men in the uniform of the United States Army and Navy attempted to force their way into the meeting and break it up, openly announcing that that was their

purpose. The police and the Provost Guards kept the uniformed mob from harming the May Day celebrants. Again and again the mob attempted to break in but the police and Provost Guards held their ground.

Thousands of our members with tickets in their hands, remained outside, in the heavy rain, being unable to gain admission because of the melee.

The attempted pogrom was not entirely unexpected. Anonymous warnings had reached the officers of the Organization and all precautionary measures were taken by them. The officers were successful in fully protecting the great audience.

The police and military officers, whose energy and determination rendered futile all attempts of the vicious uniformed mob, who had come in search of blood, asked us not to add to their difficulties by the delivery of the addresses. It was known that individuals were stationed in different parts of the hall ready to start a "rough house" at a signal. Our great task was to carry out the program without giving the hoodlums and rowdies a chance to start something. Appreciating the honest efforts made by the police and the military guard; realizing our tremendous responsibility to the thousands of our members, their wives and children who had come because of their confidence in the leadership of the organization; in view, also, of the fact that speechmaking was to be one of the features but not the only feature of the celebration, we concluded that it was our duty to the twelve thousand men, women and children to heed the request of those who were officially charged with the duty of protecting them on that occasion and were conscientiously and successfully performing that duty.

The decision was very painful to the officers; they arrived at it most reluctantly; but they did so in the realization that under the circumstances there was no other course open to them. They are confident that the membership will appreciate the motive of their action.

The celebration was not left entirely without a May Day Message. The articles that appeared in the program, which were written by Charles Ervin and the General Secretary, interpreted the significance of the great day."

Other labor gatherings were broken up by the same elements who failed at Madison Square Garden, and blood was shed. The new home of the New York Call was raided and much damage done.

In Chicago we celebrated May Day in previous years with parades where the full strength of our organization was represented. The line of march was arranged to pass by the windows of the shops not organized so that the unorganized workers would have a full and free opportunity to see for themselves the faces and the stature of men and women who believed in solidarity and the motto, "All for one and one for all."

In 1919 it was arranged that in all shops where there was a Union agreement the entire day would be given to May Day celebration. For the shops where there was no recognition of the right to organize and no official relations between the firm and the Union it was decided that at 2 o'clock in the afternoon all workers who were for solidarity and a union of all the workers should stop work and join the celebration.

The response was unanimous. Never before was the working class of the clothing industry of Chicago swept and shaken with such enthusiasm as on May Day of 1919.

One stream and another and still another poured out from the factory doors and formed the seemingly endless procession of enthusiastic celebrants through the clothing district and to Car Men's Hall, Ashland Avenue and Van Buren Street, where a record-breaking meeting was held.

May Day was celebrated everywhere else by the organized Clothing Workers and with the Amalgamated spirit.

This year the following May Day Call was issued:

New York, March 5, 1920.

To Joint Boards and Local Unions, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Greeting:—

The First of May is drawing near. It is a legal holiday of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In accordance with our established custom, we beg to bring this to your attention and ask you to make the best arrangements you can in order to celebrate May Day in a fitting manner.

Enemies of the progressive Labor Movement have attempted to attach vicious motives to the celebration of the First of May. Whatever others may charge this holiday with, we know what it means to us and why we celebrate it.

To us the First of May is purely a workingmen's holiday. Its purpose is to give expression to that spirit of international brotherhood which is characteristic of our organization. Practically every labor organization in this country is an international family, including workers of different nationalities. Ours surely is. We are proud of the fact that we have succeeded in bringing workers of so many nationalities under one cap, united for the same cause, fighting and winning together. When the history of our present civilization will be written, work such as we are doing will be studied by the historian most. True history is the history of the struggles of the people onward and not the history of rulers keeping the people down. The story of the Amalgamated is the story of the people, practically the entire working population.

We are all united in the efforts for improving our conditions today and the final establishment of industrial democracy.

To this great cause our organization is dedicated. To this great cause the First of May is consecrated as an international and world wide working class holiday.

Wherever possible we put our regular daily work aside on May Day in order to celebrate. We organize appropriate meetings and entertainments with educational addresses on the significance of May Day and the great cause in which we have enlisted.

May Day is celebrated by the enlightened workers in all civilized countries.

The war is over. At the time of this writing we are on the eve of peace with the great and wonderful Russian nation. We are now allowed to call all men and women our brothers and sisters. May Day is the only day in the year that is expressly dedicated to that great idea. Let us make it a day of joy and happiness.

Wherever celebration during the day is not feasible, celebrate in the evening. Under all circumstances let us do it in the best way possible.

We have much to be grateful for. We have much to rejoice in. We have still more to look forward to.

There is time for struggle; there is time for serious contemplation; there is time for jollification. We take care of each in its season. May Day is the day for jolly festivities.

Let it be an Amalgamated May Day as we have been accustomed to see it in the past.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary A. C. W. of A.

The New York Joint Board was unable to secure Madison Square Garden for this year's May Day celebration. It engaged for that pur-

pose Carnegie Hall, the next largest hall in the city. This time speeches were entirely forbidden unless speakers and speeches were censored. Refusing to submit to censorship, the organization confined the celebration to a concert by celebrated artists.

Appropriate arrangements for the great holiday were made and successfully carried out by all other local organizations of our International.

#### THE IMPERATIVE NEED OF EDUCATION

In all of our reports to the Conventions we stressed the great importance of education for our membership. It is becoming more urgent each day.

The only opportunity for workers to acquire education is through their own organization. Others are in the main either entirely disinterested or are interested in miseducating us. Those institutions and persons outside of the Labor Movement who earnestly wish to educate the people can do their work usefully and effectively only in cooperation with the Labor Movement.

There is a large number of members in the Amalgamated who have had the spirit, loyalty and intelligence to build this organization and bring it to its present condition. They are plain folk, tailors and cutters. They did their job skilfully. But their task, though extremely difficult, was rather simple in the past. It is becoming more complex as we are growing. If they are to give the movement a maximum of usefulness by their activities hereafter as they have done heretofore they must get that higher education which may have been a "luxury" in former years but is indispensable today. To the extent that that will be neglected the usefulness of those members will be impaired.

There is a still greater number of members who have joined our ranks but recently. Most of them have not had the benefit of contact with the Labor Movement and missed whatever education such contact may bring. They must be instructed in the fundamentals of labor organization and progressively advanced to higher grades of education. Unless they understand fully the character and mission of an industrial labor organization, they will not understand properly why they are members of the Organization.

All members must be instructed in the great problems of the day, as our welfare depends upon the proper solution of them. The Labor Movement is honeycombed with traitors and beset with many dangers. We must know how to guard ourselves and not permit the enemies to lead us into their traps. We must learn the proper use of the Labor Movement terminology and the difference between mere phrases and action. This is a particularly serious matter today when the enemies of the Labor Movement are recklessly twisting terms and phrases into the most vicious meaning. Workers are imprisoned for using language which had been considered perfectly harmless but a short The Labor Movement must defend all of its rights, whatever the cost and sacrifices. If legitimate working class action should bring punishment at the hands of the powers that be, it must be accepted as incidental to the struggle of the people for their rights and liberties. From such action the Labor Movement must not shrink, come what may. But it must carefully examine the high sounding phrases, which often come from the months of provocateurs. Movement, as a people's movement, is endangered the moment its enemies succeeded in placing it outside of the pale of law. To guard against the dangers lurking in "strong language" today we must have sound education.

Education is necessary because of our increasing responsibilities in matters of general importance. The affairs of the world are coming into the hands of the working people, not as mere tools to do the work and ask no questions but as masters who are responsible for the proper treatment of these affairs. Those responsibilities are coming to the workers of all industries in the course of social progress as naturally as the ripening of fruit on the tree. They are ours whether we want them or not. We must have the education that will enable us to deal with them intelligently.

We need more education as we are progressing in the relations with the employers in our industry. Every day we participate in the determination of problems of great importance and we must act wisely.

We have built up a code of industrial law, an industrial court and an industrial administrative machinery through our collective bargaining arrangements. All those things are new. We have been experimenting. We have been breaking ground for ourselves and for others. We have made great progress. Through those agencies all our relations with the employers are controlled and regulated. Our citizenship status in the factory is determined by them. The more intelligently we conduct this industrial government, the better for ourselves and society as a whole.

Finally, we must have that sort of education for our membership, which will enable the Labor Movement to establish full and complete industrial democracy for the benefit of all useful members of Society.

Viewed from all angles, education must become as essential a plank in our programs as the protection of our working and health conditions.

In order to reach our present destination in a little more than five years, we were obliged to travel so fast that we were unable to give proper attention to educational work. We can no longer delay it now except at our own peril. The beginning has already been made in a number of cities. The greatest success has been attained in Chicago and Rochester.

As stated in the Chicago report, the Educational Department, under the direction of Mrs. Raissa Lomonosoff, conducted a series of musical entertainments and brief lectures at the Car Men's Hall and classes at the headquarters of the Chicago Joint Board. It was at the latter that systematic education was given to the members. To Mrs. Lomonosoff is due credit for the successful management of the Department.

The subjects taught in the classes at the Main Headquarters on South Halstead street included English language, arithmetic, public speaking, parliamentary law, trade unionism, cooperatives, movements of thought in the 19th century, modern literature, and social hygiene. Classes in dancing and a dramatic art club met at the headquarters at 1564 North Robey street.

The class in public speaking, which met every Monday, from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m., for ten weeks, was conducted by Prof. B. Nelson of the University of Chicago. At each session every member was required

to make a two minute speech on a chosen topic. Interesting discussions were held on compulsory military training, newspaper editorial policies, socialism, communism, municipal ownership, etc.

Trade Unionism and cooperative movements were described and analyzed by Prof. Deibler of Northwestern University in twelve lec-

tures on the following topics:

January 28—The Beginnings of Trade Unionism in the United States.

February 4—Revival of Unionism after 1860,

February 11—The Knights of Labor and National Craft Union.

February 18—The A. F. of L., Its Structure and Methods, and Type of Modern Unions.

February 25—The Purposes and Methods of the A. F. of L. The Socialist Movement and the I. W. W.

March 3-Types of Agreements.

March 10—Industrial Unionism and the One Big Union Movement.

March 17—Syndicalism.

March 24—The British Trade Union Movement.

March 31—The Co-operative Movement in Europe.

April 7—The Co-operative Movement in the United States.

April 14—Economics of the Labor Movement.

Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century was the subject of seven lectures given by Prof. James H. Tufts, Dean of the School of Philosophy of the University of Chicago. The topics were as follows:

1. January 20—The Romantic Movement: Rousseau, Walter Scott, Byron, Hugo.

1. Instinct and feeling rather than reason and form.

2. Liberty and equality.

2. January 29—Idealism: Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Emerson.

1. Freedom of the mind and spirit in science,

morality, art.

2. Tendency to emphasize the whole vs. the part, the state, vs. the individual, and to separate reason from experience.

3. February 12—Radicalism and Utilitarianism in England: Bentham, Mill.

1. All laws and standards to be judged by the greatest happiness of the greatest number, every man to count as one.

4. February 19—Society can be studied and its laws understood:

Comte.

1. The individual is largely made by society. Before the individual can really be free and strong, he must master the laws of society. Three stages: Theological, metaphysical, positive.

5. February 26-Evolution: Darwin, Spencer.

Not merely a theory about plants and animals, but a method for better understanding of all institutions and standards.

- 6. March 4—Social Democracy: Marx, Engels.
  - 1. Economic interpretation of history.

2. Class struggle.

- 3. Surplus labor product and exploitation.
- 7. March 11—The will to power; Nietzsche.
  - Master morality and slave morality. Reversal of all values.
  - 2. The superman.

Professor Tufts outlined the following course of readings:

- For Lecture 1—Rousseau, "The Social Contract." Royce, "The Spirit of Modern Philosophy," Chapter VI.
- For Lecture 2—Royce, "Spirit of Modern Philosophy," Chapters IV, V, VII. Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey." Dewey, "German Philosophy and Politics."
- For Lecture 3—J. S. Mill, "Utilitarianism," "Liberty."
- For Lecture 4—Comte, "Positive Philosophy." J. S. Mill, "Comte and Positivism."
- For Lecture 5—Darwin, "Origin of Species," "Descent of Man."
  Spencer, "Principles of Ethics," "First Principles."
  Dewey, "Influence of Darwin upon Philosophy."
- For Lecture 6—"Communist Manifesto." Marx, "Capital." Simkhovitch, "Marxism vs. Socialism."
- For Lecture 7—Nietzsche, "Thus Spake Zarathustra," "Genealogy of Morals," "Will to Power," "Beyond Good and Evil." Salter, "Nietzsche the Thinker." H. L. Stewart, "Nietzsche and the Ideals of Modern Germany."

The work of the educational Department of the Amalgamated in Rochester is fully discussed by the director of the Department, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, in a report that will be given at the conclusion of this chapter.

In New York our organization is affiliated with the United Labor Education Committee. Lectures, classes, concerts, dramatic readings and other educational activities are conducted through that Committee. The program included a course for Union officials by such famous lecturers as Professors Beard, Nearing and Olds. This course proved highly beneficial. A number of lectures were given at the regular business meetings of the Local Unions.

In Baltimore, where one educational season had been carried out successfully before, the last season was opened December 14, 1919, at Ford's Opera House with Glenn E. Plumb and Secretary Schlossberg as speakers. There was also a good musical program. Later our organization was invited to an educational conference formed by A. F. of L. organizations in that city. The invitation was accepted.

Educational work was done to some extent by Amalgamated Local Unions in other places.

This work should be made universal and systematic.

Herewith is Miss Gawthorpe's report:

#### Educational Activities in Rochester

The specific work of beginning to develop an educational program for the Rochester members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was opened in the first week of January of this year; but the Rochester members themselves had already passed many resolutions in the Locals and in the Joint Board bearing on the desire for educational and social classes. The year 1919 had been a strenuous one in the organization and in many respects it had been an exceedingly dramatic one, as is borne out very forcefully in the report of the Clothiers' Exchange of the Rochester clothing industry which tells the story from the employers' point of view. This year was the year of the recognition of the Union by the Exchange in February, 1919, the announcement of the collective bargaining agreement following the previous acceptance of the 44-hour week in January. A year of rapid development followed, culminating in the December agreement which was accepted by both sides for the next six months.

With improved wage provisions to meet the higher cost of living, with the 44-hour week and recognition of the Union accomplished facts, the militant labor forces of the Amalgamated turned themselves immediately to a consideration of that larger life for which so many sacrifices had been made by the pioneers. In the name of the Union the clothing workers resolved on educational enterprise, initiated and controlled by themselves.

At the time of your educational adviser's arrival in Rochester, Winter was half advanced. Although an educational program looks very well set down in terms of resolution, practice and theory don't always coincide, especially in the early stages of a new venture. Instead of trying to put over a program which had worked well elsewhere, it was decided to spend some time getting at the mind of the Rochester members themselves. At Local and shop meetings, and with many individuals, the subject was discussed and a preliminary program was drafted based exactly on what members appeared to be asking for. This program was then voted on at Locals and further suggestions were invited.

The printed program as seen on the exhibit was then offered to members who were asked to fill in the blue application cards, saying what classes or clubs they were interested in and would like to attend if organized. As an educational budget had not been planned, it was not possible, even if it had been advisable, to open all classes simultaneously, so the Board of Directors, in approving the payment of teachers for three classes as a beginning, gave first consideration to those for which most applications had been received by the Educational Department.

These three classes were: English, General Hygiene and a Choral Club. At the same time, as a large number of "scattered" applications had been received from members asking for classes in almost every possible subject of cultural knowledge, history, trade unionism, the cooperative movement, science, citizenship, literature, economics, arithmetic, parliamentary law, public speaking, as well as of dancing and dramatic art, it was thought wiser to test out continued support and attendance by a series of members' social evenings and lectures which

were scheduled for Fridays. The slogan was to be SING, LEARN, DANCE. These social-educational evenings are now well known among the membership. Six evenings have been held at the time of writing. In spite of the psychologically adverse influence of frequent change of hall, owing to the late datings, and attendance of several hundred weekly has been kept up, and there is a steadily increasing interest.

It should be said here that our very first efforts had been in the direction of a series of educational concerts on the lines of the splendid series organized by Madame Lomonosoff for the Chicago Joint Board, but symphony concerts are much more easily obtainable in cities like Chicago, New York and Boston than here in Rochester. The only symphony orchestra on the horizon was an amateur orchestra containing many first-class artists and a few professionals affiliated with the A. F. of L., the whole venture being partly supported by private subscription. Necessity comes to the aid of invention once more, however, and a way of obviating these professional and other difficulties is now being opened up. If not this season, then in the coming Fall and Winter there seems to be no reason why a series of concerts, first-class in every way, as genuine educational concerts must be, should not be arranged for here.

The SING-LEARN-DANCE evenings were the next best thing that could be done on the larger get-together plan which is as necessary as the smaller class groups for fostering the right spirit of Amalgamated fellowship and all-round educational development.

The SING aspect at these Friday gatherings is taken care of by the half hour's mass singing which precedes the lecture. National Organizer Gustave Strebel has the honors of this half-hour each Friday, for he is not only a most competent song-leader, but the most popular of the straight union songs which are the first contributions to an official song-sheet, is of his own composition. A word about the song-sheet: Each of the eight songs has been chosen either for its clear-cut union worth or for its fraternal message. In most cases the songs are set to popular airs which almost everybody knows. There is no doubt about it, everybody gets a great deal of joy out of this singing in spite of the prophecies of a few lugubrious Jeremiahs who were afraid we should degenerate into a singing club. It is as though you said that Gustave Strebel, for instance, who is to be our chief orator on May Day must be less of a fighter and an organizer because he has a wonderful singing voice and can write a good poem on occasion!

The best of it is that it isn't the young ones only, who have no strenuous memories of the Amalgamated behind them to bear testimony to what they have done for the cause, but all who come on Fridays, old and young alike, are getting something vital out of the singing; and no one could complain of our Amalgamateds being listless during the lectures which follow. One lecturer observed to me that he had noticed that our people looked so bright! So praise be once more for the 44-hour week which has so much to its credit in terms of human vigor!

Following the mass singing, the usual program is to hear next a brief account of the educational work and features of the past and especially of the coming week. The visiting speaker of the evening is then intro-

duced by the Chairman who is usually an officer of the Joint Board or of the Locals or of the Educational Committee which works with the Educational Department. Questions are then taken, and a full half hour is allowed for this important feature of an Amalgamated lecture evening. Dancing for some and social friendly "visiting" then follows until 10.30, for just one hour, when the evening's mental and physical recreation is brought to a close.

Without any exaggeration the lecturers and speakers who are sharing their learning with the clothing workers are the best the city has. In every case they consented to come in on the educational proposition as a high adventure, asking nothing in return. The Amalgamated, however, plans to mark its recognition of such splendid service in introducing to its members a variety of subjects which will probably form the basis of intensive study in small classes in the future. February 13th to May 1st was approved by the Board of Directors as the period of the first session of work. Here follows the list of lecturers with lecture titles:

February 13—Dr. William Leiserson, chairman of the Labor Adjustment Board, "Economic Citizenship."

February 20—Professor Lawrence J. Packard, University of Rochester, "The Meaning of the American Revolution."

February 27—Dr. Justin W. Nixon, Rochester Theological Seminary, "What Is Americanism?"

March 5-Dr. Franklin Bock, "Social and Health Insurance."

March 12—Professor J. M. Osman, East High School, "Justice to the Newcomer."

March 19—Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, Temple Berith Kodesh, "Is the World Getting Better?"

March 26—President W. D. Guernsey, Typographical Union, "Self-Government in Industry."

April 2—Professor LeRoy Fairchild, University of Rochester, "Rochester Weather."

April 9—Dr. Ludwell Denny, First Unitarian Church, "The Negro Problem and Labor."

April 16—Dr. Dexter Perkins, Rochester University, "The French Revolution."

April 23—Dr. Robert Campbell, University of Rochester, "The Cooperative Movement in the Middle-West."

April 30—Eve of May Day.

Other promises are to hand for a continuation of the series as decided upon by the Board of Directors at a later date.

In developing the educational work it has been the aim of the educational adviser to encourage self-governing responsibilities in all classes. The Friday Members' Nights are in charge on the organizing side of a committee of men and women members. Two brothers stand

at the door for the purpose of punching the yellow ticket. The ticket is given to all who show membership books on the night of their first attendance and, where specially applied for, a ticket is issued to members entitling them to bring others of their families. This has been a popular concession, as it has not only encouraged members to bring wives and children, or husbands or sweethearts, as the case might be to the Amalgamated lectures, but has made it possible for some to come who could not otherwise be present. A corps of ushers has charge of the seating of the members and our sister volunteers as a rule attend to the distribution of song sheets and programs to those who have not already received them, and collect the applications for classes. Every week there are new applications showing the steady stream of newcomers. Twelve thousand members are not reached all at once; so it is neither surprising nor discouraging, as a superficial glance at things might indicate, that from time to time we meet members who have just come up against this new thing in the life of the A. C. W. of A.

Dancing takes place as a rule in the next hall. Many members asked for a teacher and we have met this request for the time being by a committee of members who know how to dance and who are willing to teach the beginners. These are taken on to the balcony, and that floor is kept for them. It works quite well. The habit of sharing whatever knowledge is possessed with members of the union is a fine one to develop.

The whole committee has full friendly authority to keep order where order is needed; but there have been no difficulties of this kind except with a few late-comers who were always on time for the dancing if not for the lecture. As no one is allowed to dance unless his or her ticket is punched, there is full encouragement to be on time. This may be wise or not. It serves its purpose. If the committee finds a better way of managing the details of organization, doubtless it will be followed.

A detailed statement of the classes and clubs now regularly scheduled for the different nights of the week is given here, according to subject:

English Classes: These are of three kinds, an advanced class in the English language and beginners' classes of two grades.

English Language Class: This class was arranged for the large number of Amalgamateds who, whether American-born or not, have fluent spoken English, though not always correct English, whose reading and writing could be improved considerably. Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey, whose name with labor audiences is a household word in this city, most kindly consented to take charge of this class. Dr. Crapsey's book, "The Rise of the Working Class," is not only an exponent of Dr. Crapsey's command of English but it is an excellent book for those wishing to study economics, as it gives a comprehensive introduction to the economics of the industrial era. Without this background, and an understanding of a non-technical vocabulary, it is not possible to get much satisfaction out of "economics" as a general proposition. Dr. Crapsey's class is held on Tuesday nights for an hour and a half and members of this class know it is a privilege to have the first-hand explanations and corrections that they enjoy in this class.

English Beginners' Classes: For those having little or no knowledge of spoken or written English, three beginners' classes, at the time of writing, have been organized in charge of J. M. Osman, Instructor in English at East High School, and an expert at this work. Mr. Osman's first class was opened Wednesday evening and it was quite full at the second class; so that when Lithuanian Local 203 asked for an English class at their headquarters, Lithuanian Hall, the Board of Directors readily consented. Mr. Osman's English classes at Lithuanian Hall are held on Mondays from 7.30 to 8.30 p. m. for those studying the "first book," and from 8.30 p. m. to 9.30 p. m. for those studying the "second book." Polish Local 206 through individual members has also asked for English classes on the lines planned by the Lithuanian Local and a meeting has been called to act on this proposal by the local as a whole.

There can be no doubt that the Amalgamated English classes satisfy a long-standing want on the part of our members, many of whom, while having a good speaking acquaintance with the language, have had no opportunity to attend a class suited to their adult needs and mature ways of thinking, humanly speaking. Both Dr. Crapsey and Professor Osman have through life-long knowledge of the labor movement in the one case, and through direct sympathy with the work of the Amalgamated in the other, a way of approach to students in classes of this kind that the ordinary type of teacher does not possess.

The question of reader or text-book, especially in the earlier stages, is an important matter, so many books on the market being too childish for grown-ups to have patience with even for the learning's sake. We obtained Sara O'Brien's "First Book for Foreigners" for the beginners, and the book is exceedingly good. But in this growing labor educational movement it seems to the writer that we ought to be able to do much better, as a large vocabulary related to an understanding of the vital experiences of a labor unionist's life in factory, meeting, and elsewhere, is perhaps naturally, not included. This is surely as important as reading how to put savings in the bank. Appreciation of the work done by a good shop chairman should be at least as worthy of mention as the respect the worker owes to his foreman or to his employer just because he is foreman or employer. In the book referred to, these are the outstanding examples of what the critical would term "master-class philosophy" and it must be said the examples are fewer in Miss O'Brien's book than in anything of the same kind that has been published.

Possibly with the growth of a labor educational system, backed by labor unions united on a common program, it may be found practicable to have "English for Beginners" books written by an educator who is also a master of labor union vocabulary which is up to date in every particular. Then a lesson in which the pupil says: "I put my savings in the cooperative bank," will not preclude him from depositing his money wherever he pleases; but it will educate him in union consciousness and show him how this has always, in one form or another, been associated with his ability to get an education at all.

History and Economics of Trade Unionism: Members of one local in particular have been clamoring for teaching on economics and several tentative arrangements were made for a first class in this subject,

but for various reasons they fell through. It has not been easy to get a teacher in economics. Certain labor managers were fully competent; but for obvious reasons it was not thought advisable to invite them for this purpose at least to a regular class. The Educational Department has been fortunate in view of this to get Dr. Leiserson, the Impartial Chairman, to take charge of a preliminary class in the history and economics of trade unionism. The class will be held under the auspices of Local 205, the Cutters' Local. The cutters are now to hold their business meetings once in every two weeks instead of every week, the other evening being given to education. Members of other locals will be admitted. Dr. Leiserson's method will be that of a friendly talk with most of the time for questions and discussion. The first class is scheduled for March 29th.

Hygiene Class: Organized at the request of the women members, this class is held on the regular meeting nights of Women's Local 204 after the business, the meetings now beginning at 7.30 instead of 8 P. M. This allows the class to begin at 9 P. M. sharp. Dr. Grace A. Carter, a well-known Rochester medical woman, has had great experience in this work. She is the pioneer of the "Live a Little Longer" movement which has held educational classes for homekeepers during the last two or three years. The topics dealt with are: Personal hygiene, factory hygiene, home hygiene, hygiene in public places, social and sex hygiene. In this, as in every other class organized by the Educational Department, fullest discussion is not only invited but encouraged.

Choral Club for Men and Women: This is the first educational and social club organized. It has been arranged especially for those who wanted to go further than is provided for in the mass singing of the Friday night series. Part singing, breath control and the elements of a musical vocabulary are taught by Frederick Richards Benson, Professor of Voice at the Institute of Musical Art in Rochester. Like all other classes arranged so far, admission is free to Amalgamated members but the members buy their own music, which is sold to them at cost price by the Secretary-Librarian of the Club. It is the ambition of the Club to sing at the May day celebrations. It is too early to make a prophecy about this, but present signs are encouraging.

A complete list of the classes and clubs now in regular session is given at the end of this account.

It must be again emphasized that, very largely, the educational work in Rochester is an experiment. With no budget appropriated in advance, the method has been to build step by step. The response has been such as to indicate that with the budget method and with a variety of classes to offer to the whole membership on lines that they themselves in the main wish and have asked for, a really efficient educational program could be worked out during the coming Fall and Winter.

The question has been raised whether it would be better to charge for some of the classes; for dancing and similar classes. But this is based on a misconception, probably, that these things are to be regarded as luxuries when, as a matter of fact, they ought to be part and parcel of daily life. The method of budget appropriation is constructive. It puts the whole educational effort on a dignified basis. It is in line with

the specific appropriations for educational purposes which have made the Cooperative Movement's educational department so remarkable in Great Britain and other countries.

A cent a week per member, allowed in an appropriation, would yield quite a nice educational fund in most Joint Boards, with which much could be done. Here in Rochester the cent a week plan, based on 8,000 members, would yield \$4,160, and on the 10,000 basis or the 12,000 basis proportionately more as is shown:

	8,000 members . 10,000 members		bers	12,000 members		
at	1c a week	\$4,160 at	1c a week	\$5,200	at 1c a week	\$6,240
	2c	8,320	2c	10,400	2c	12,480
	3c	12,480	3c	15,600	3c	18,720
	5c	20,800	5c	26,000	5c	31,200

During the progress of the work, applications have been received from members of "outside" organizations asking to be allowed to come in. In specific instances this has been allowed. Suggestions have also been made for the formation of a Trade Union College as at Boston, Seattle and other places. The indications are that the time is not ripe in this city for such an amalgamation for some time to come. The hostile A. F. of L. and other complications show that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will have to be the pioneer in this work of organizing educational and recreational classes for its own army of labor unionists.

It is difficult to make an estimate of the significance of the work done so far this year as its dimensions have been modest and it was late when the work was started. But there is a distinctly growing appreciation of what this educational and social work, added to the every-day lessons of organization, can do for the membership. There are some very hard workers in Rochester. To many of them educational possibilities among their own people has come as a breath of air, cooling and refreshing as well as heartening and invigorating. Perhaps next year some of these faithful pioneers in the work of the Amalgamated will be able to have a specialized class for officers and other responsible workers such as has been organized in New York City under the auspices of the United Labor Education Committee. However much learning of the solid, intellectual kind is invested in, the new call is for "Sweetness" as well as "Light."

Therefore do all three: SING-LEARN-DANCE.

# EDUCATIONAL SCHEDULE TO DATE, MARCH 31, 1920

# ROCHESTER JOINT BOARD, A. C. W. OF A. EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT 476 Clinton Avenue North

- EVERY MONDAY: ENGLISH CLASSES: Lithuanian Hall, 575 Joseph Avenue. First Grade: Beginners 7.30 P. M. Second Grade: Beginners 8.30 P. M. Professor J. M. Osman, Teacher of East High School.
- EVERY TUESDAY: English Language Class: Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey, Hall 7, 8 to 9.30 P. M. Reader and text-book; "The Rise of the Working Class."
- EVERY TUESDAY: Choral Club for Men and Women, Hall 2, Joiner Street entrance; Frederick Richards Benson, Professor of Voice at the Institute of Musical Art, Teacher.
- EVERY WEDNESDAY: English Class for Beginners: Hall 7, J. M. Osman, Teacher.
- EVERY FIRST AND THIRD WEDNESDAY: Hygiene class: Dr. Grace A. Carter, Teacher; Hall 4, 7.30 P. M.
- EVERY SECOND AND FOURTH MONDAY: Auspices of Local 205 and Educational Department, "History and Economics of Trade Unionism" Dr. William M. Leiserson, teacher; Hall 2, Joiner Street 8.00 P. M.
- EVERY FRIDAY: Members' Social Evening and Lecture: SING, 7.45 P. M.; LEARN, 8 P. M.; DANCE, 9.30 P. M. Visiting lecturers on different historical, economic, scientific and current event subjects.

Unless otherwise notified all classes are held at General Headquarters, 476 Clinton Avenue N. Members are admitted to any of the classes on filling the blue application card when entering the class on Friday evenings.

### REFERENDUM VOTES

In the course of the past two years the membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America uttered itself five times through referendum votes.

The first vote was taken, shortly after the Baltimore Convention, on the election of General Officers and Members of the General Executive Board. The election of officers by a vote of the membership was inaugurated by the Special Convention held December, 1914, in New York, as one of the most important safeguards against a repetition of the usurpation of power by the officers of the former organization. At

the same time a vote was also taken on changes in the constitution adopted by the Convention. Herewith is the call for the referendum vote, dated May 29, 1918:

To the Locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Greeting:-

In accordance with the democratic rule of our organization to elect General Officers and members of the General Executive Board by the General Membership, you are herewith called upon to vote on the nominations made by our Third Biennial Convention held from May 13th to May 20th at Baltimore, Md.

The enclosed ballot contains the names of all the nominees who have accepted. Of those nominated by the convention the following have declined: Brother Abraham Miller of Local 8, New York, and Brother Frank Rosenblum, of Local 61, Chicago. Brother Rosenblum has asked us to submit to you a letter from him. We have complied with his request, and enclose a copy of his letter.

The convention has decided to abolish the office of General Auditorship which is entirely superfluous, as the organization is employing a professional accountant for the auditing work. You are asked to vote on the changes in the constitution, which, if carried, will abolish that office. Pending the adoption of the changes the constitutional clauses applying to the General Auditorship remain in force. Accordingly, nomination was made for the office of General Auditorship. If the changes proposed by the convention are not carried by the referendum vote and the office of General Auditorship is retained, the Brother nominated for that office, if elected, will fill it. If the changes are carried and the office is abolished, that brother, if elected, will be one of the General Executive Board members.

You are also asked to vote on changes in the constitution with regard to the compensation for the General President and the General Secretary and on the place for the holding of the Fourth Biennial Convention in 1920.

The constitutional provisions for the taking of a referendum vote are as follows:

#### ARTICLE IV

- Sec. 4. When a referendum vote is ordered each L. U. shall call a special meeting and take action seriatim on all questions submitted for a vote, only members present to be counted.
- Sec. 5. The President and Recording Secretary shall carefully record the vote and send same under their signatures and the seal of the L. U., to the General Secretary.
- Sec. 6. The G. S. must issue a referendum ballot, when ordered, within two (2) weeks, and vote of L. U.'s to be counted must be received within thirty (30) days from date of issue of any referendum ballot. The result of the referendum shall be published in the official publications of the A. C. W. of A., in tabulated form.

Accordingly, you are asked to call a special meeting of your local union, take the referendum vote, and send us the result, properly sealed and signed, to reach the General Office not later than Saturday, June 29, 1918.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

### Referendum Vote For General Officers

	For	Against
For General President, Sidney Hillman, Local 39, Chicago		,
For General Secretary, Joseph Schlossberg, Local 156, New York		
For General Treasurer, David Wolf, Local 262, New York		
For General Auditor, Alex Cohen, Local 3, New York		

#### REFERENDUM VOTE

For Members on the General Executive Board

#### VOTE FOR SEVEN ONLY

	No. of Votes Cast
Samuel Levin, Local 61, Chicago	
Harry Cohen, Local 7, New York	
A. D. Marimpietri, Local 39, Chicago	
Hyman Blumberg, Local 36, Baltimore	
August Bellanca, Local 63, New York	
Dorothy Jacobs, Local 170, Baltimore	
Louis Revayle, Local 3, New York	
Harry Madanick, Local 15, Baltimore	
Jos. Gold, Local 156, New York	
Harry Crystal, Local 36, Baltimore	
Joseph Goodman, Local 2, New York	
Paul Arnone, Local 63, New York	
Jacob P. Friedman, Local 4, New York	
Lazarus Marcovitz, Local 172, Boston	
Peter Galskis, Local 269, Chicago	
Nathan Bunin, Local 140, Philadelphia	
James Blugerman, Local 211, Toronto	
Dlace for holding the Hourth	Diammial Commontion

Place for holding the Fourth Biennial Convention
For Against

BOSTON, MASS.

# VOTE ON INCREASES IN SALARIES FOR THE GENERAL PRESIDENT AND GENERAL SECRETARY.

Section 3, Art. VI of our constitution reads as follows:

"The General President shall devote his entire time to the services of the A. C. W. of A., and shall receive as compensation the sum of fifty dollars (\$50.00) per week."

The convention decided to substitute the words "four thousand dollars (\$4000) per annum" for the words "fifty dollars (\$50.00) per week."

Section 7, Art. VI of our constitution reads as follows:

"The G. S. shall devote his entire time to the services of the A. C. W. of A., and shall receive as compensation the sum of fifty dollars (\$50.00) per week. He shall give bonds to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15.000), in some first class surety company, the cost of the bond to be paid from the funds of the A. C. W. of A."

The convention decided to substitute the words "four thousand dollars (\$4,000) per annum" for the words "fifty dollars (\$50.00) per week."

If these two amendments are carried the salaries for the General President and the General Secretary will be fixed as four thousand dollars a year each.

#### BALLOT

For Amendment of Sections 3 and 7 of Art. VI as stated above

# No. of Votes Against

NTO OF Troton

#### VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Article V. Section 1, now reads as follows:

"The general officers of the A. C. W. of A., shall consist of a General President, a General Secretary, a General Treasurer, a General Auditor, and three (3) Trustees. The G. E. B. shall consist of eleven members including the seven General Officers."

The convention decided that it should read as follows:

"The general officers of the A. C. W. of A. shall consist of a General President, a General Secretary and a General Treasurer. The G. E. B. shall consist of eleven members including the three General Officers."

The action of the convention, if carried by referendum vote, will abolish the offices of General Auditor and Trustees, all of which the convention found to be superfluous. The number of members on the G. E. B. will remain the same.

The carrying of the above change will render superfluous sections 12, 13 and 14 of Article VI, dealing with the office of General Auditor, and sections 15 and 16 of Article VI, dealing with the Board of Trustees. The convention, accordingly, recommends the elimination of those sections.

	110.	I VOLES
	For	Against
Change in Sec. 1, Art. V, abolishing the offices of	es. You acte	
General Auditor and Trustees		
Elimination of Sections 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of Article VI	· · · · · · ·	
Elimination of Sections 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of Article vi	· · · · · ·	

#### Result of the Referendum Vote

	For	Against
GENERAL OFFICERS ELECTED		
For General President, Sidney Hillman, Local 39, Chicago	19,563	450
For General Secretary, Joseph Schlossberg, Local 156, New York	18,977	837
For General Treasurer, David Wolf, Local 262, New York	17,542	1196
For General Auditor, Alex Cohen, Local 3, New York	16,675	1361

#### GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Harry Cohen, Local 17, New York	14,317
Samuel Levin, Local 61, Chicago	
August Bellanca, Local 63, New York	
Dorothy Jacobs, Local 170, Baltimore	12,362
Hyman Blumberg, Local 36, Baltimore	13,352
A. D. Marimpietri, Local 39, Chicago	11,938
Lazarus Marcovitz, Local 172, Boston	8,122
Jos. Gold, Local 156, New York	6,151
Paul Arnone, Local 63, New York	4,355
Harry Madanick, Local 15, Baltimore	3,679
Jos. Goodman, Local 2, New York	3,806

E	Harry Crystal, Local 36, Baltimore	3,679
J	acob P. Friedman, Local 4, New York	3,636
L	Louis Ravayle, Local 3, New York	3,262
P	Peter Galskis, Local 269, Chicago	2,414
N	Nathan Bunin, Local 140, Philadelphia	2,033
J	Tames Blugerman, Local 211, Toronto	1,411
	The following were elected as members of the General Executive Board:	
0	Cohen, Samuel Levin, August Bellanca, Dorothy Jacobs, Hyman Blumberg,	A. D.

Marimpietri and Lazarus Marcovitz.			
	For	Against	t Result
Increase in Salaries for the General President			
and the General Secretary	14,574	2,703	Carried
Abolition of General Auditor	14,011	1,921	Office Abolished
Convention City: Boston	11,199	2,805	Boston ratified

### Brother Frank Rosenblum's Farewell Letter to the Membership

To the Membership of the

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

Greetings:-

It is with a feeling of deep emotion that I am addressing these lines to you.

I first came in close contact with you, as an international body, in the famous Nashville battle. There I was honored by your representatives with the mission of championing your cause on the floor of the convention of our former organization and struggling for their admission. I have always considered it a great distinction to have been thus honored. I drew courage from your support and fought until the bitter end. When you were disfranchised, and your representatives physically barred from the convention that should have been yours, I joined them and shared my lot with you and them ever since. You then honored me with membership in the General Executive Board, which I am still holding and cherish greatly. It has also been my good fortune actively to participate in the leadership of some of our great battles, including the memorable strike of 1915 in Chicago.

Our Baltimore convention again nominated me for reelection on the General Executive Board, and I am confident that you are ready again to elect me if given an opportunity. But I have been called to join the National Army, and must leave you very soon. I hope it will be for a short period. I feel that I should not take advantage of your willingness to reelect me and leave a vacancy on the General Executive Board during my absence. But, fellow members, so highly do I prize my membership on the General Executive Board, the highest honor in the gift of the organization next to the General Officership, that I should be very much grieved to be deprived of that honor and pride.

In view of the past history which brought me into the General Executive Board; in view of the circumstances under which I am compelled, against my will and against yours, to withdraw my name from the ballot; in view, also, of the fact that mine is the only case of its kind before the organization, I take the liberty to ask you to permit me when I return from the military battlefield back to the industrial, back into the ranks of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—to return to my seat in the General Executive Board. I realize that the personnel cannot be increased to suit my convenience nor can it be done without a change in the constitution, which I do not ask you now to make. But I shall ask for your consent to return to the Board with a voice but no yote.

I am confident that when I am fortunate enough to return to you I will have your unanimous approval in occupying again my post on the General Executive Board as stated above.

Wishing you all individually and collectively continued success; hoping to be back with you before long, and calling out to you au revoir but not good bye, I remain yours in the great cause of working class emancipation.

FRANK ROSENBLUM.

# Vote On Status Of Members Who Become Representatives Of Employers, And On Subscription To Official Papers

The following resolutions, passed by the Third Biennial Convention in Baltimore, were submitted to a referendum vote:

#### Resolution No. 86, On Membership in the Organization

RESOLVED, That no member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who leaves our organization in order to accept a position as Foreman or Contractor or in any other capacity as representative of the employers be eligible for office of whatever description, local or otherwise, for five years following the date of his rejoining the organization.

#### Resolution No. 88 On Subscription to Official Journals.

WHEREAS, The official organs of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are published by the General Office in five different languages, English, Polish, Bohemian, Italian and Jewish, and we also expect that a Lithuanian paper will be published soon, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America become a subscriber of one of the above mentioned papers, and that he or she pay for the subscription while paying the monthly or weekly dues.

Both resolutions were carried and became parts of the Constitution.

Resolution No. 86 became Section 13A of Article XIV.

Resolution No 88 changed the amount of money mentioned in Sections 1 and 2 of Article VII.

# Resignation Of Board Member Dorothy Jacobs, And Vote On The Election Of Frank Rosenblum To The G. E. B. To Fill Vacancy Caused By This Resignation

At the meeting of the General Executive Board, held in Chicago, March 14 to 18, 1919, the following letter of resignation was read:

August 20, 1918.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, A. C. W. of A.

Dear Sir and Brother:-

Owing to my state of health I was unable to attend the meeting of the General Executive Board in Rochester at the beginning of this month, and so notified you at that time. For the same reason I am unable to continue longer in my capacity as member of the General Executive Board and as General Organizer. Under the circumstances I feel that I must tender my resignation from both offices, which I herewith do.

Accordingly, you will please accept this as my resignation from the General Executive Board and from the General Organizership to go into effect immediately.

Regretting the necessity of doing it and assuring you of my continued interest in the organization that is so dear to me, I am,

Fraternally yours,

DOROTHY JACOBS.

The constitution contains the following provision for the filling of vacancies:

Article 6, Section 19: Vacancies on the General Executive Board shall be filled in the following manner: The General Executive Board shall nominate not less than two (2) candidates for each vacancy and submit their names to a referendum vote. The one receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected to fill existing vacancy.

Under this provision the General Executive Board must submit at least two names to a referendum vote. In this case, however, the General Executive Board took different action which it was confident would meet with the approval of the membership, expressly providing, however, that this action, because of its special circumstances, must not be construed as a precedent for the future.

Our convention in Baltimore nominated Brother Frank Rosenblum for reelection on the General Executive Board. Brother Rosenblum declined the nomination because of the fact that he had been drafted into the United States Army. In his letter to the membership, explaining the reason for his declination he expressed his desire to join the General Executive Board again after he will have returned from service. It was our understanding that the membership accepted Brother Rosenblum's declination in that spirit. Brother Rosenblum was discharged from the Army January 11, 1919, and returned to the service of the Amalgamated. Under those circumstances to submit for referendum, for the sake of formality, a second name along with Rosenblum's, for the filling of the vacancy, would mean to impose upon some member the task of consciously acting as a figurehead. The General Executive Board, therefore, felt that under conditions as they existed in this particular situation, it was justified in submitting to a referendum vote only the names of Brother Rosenblum for the filling of the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sister Dorothy Jacobs.

April 4, 1919, a call was issued for a general vote on the election of Brother Rosenblum. There were 3,633 votes in favor and 8 against. Thus Brother Rosenblum was again made a member of the General Executive Board.

# Vote On Increasing Per Capita Dues, Limiting Initiation Fees, Constitutionalizing The Joint Boards And Enlarging The G. E. B. Membership To 15

At its session in Rochester, September 2-5, 1919, the General Executive Board inaugurated four referendum motions and submitted them to the general membership for their vote under the date of September 27, 1919. The following communications were sent to the local organizations:

Sept. 27, 1919 New York

To all Local Unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Greeting:

The General Executive Board at its session this month in Rochester, has taken action initiating referendum votes by the General Membership on four propositions, which, if carried, will be incorporated in our International Constitution.

The first proposition is in the matter of per capita, which is dealt with in a separate communication to you.

The second proposition is with reference to a maximum initiation fee for new members. Of late a tendency seems to have developed on the part of some of our local unions to make the initiation fee prohibitive, which is a violation of the spirit and policies of our organizaton.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was built up, and has attained its phenomenal success, by keeping its gates wide open for all workers in the industry to come in. Had we adopted the policy of high admission fees earlier our organization would still have been weak, ineffective and without the love and confidence that it now enjoys among the rank and file. There is nothing to be gained by high initiation fees. If the purpose of such high fees is to fill the treasury, there are not enough unorganized clothing workers in the important centers to enrich the treasury by their fees. If the purpose is to keep out from the industry those whose occupation entitles them a place in it, it means the creation of scabs, the conversion of honest workingmen into strikebreakers. In such places where our organization must still conduct a big campaign in order to recruit members, high initiation fees will surely not be the means of bringing the workers into the organization.

The General Executive Board is unanimously of the opinion that no clothing worker should be kept out of the organization by high admission fees. Let them all come in and as members, share all the burdens and responsibilities of the organization, as well as enjoy its benefits. High initiation fees will not keep out undesirable individuals, while it will effectively keep out desirable ones. The traitor will find no hardship in paying a large fee, but the honest worker will. On the other hand, in any case where the record of an applicant should warrant special action by the organization, such action would not be forbidden by the limitation of the initiation fee. Special cases may receive special attention.

Section 2 of Article XV reads as follows:

"The initiation fee charge for members shall be optional with the L. U.'s subject to the approval of the G. E. B."

By this authority the General Executive Board may veto high initiation fees. But the G. E. B. proposes to rewrite this section and provide a maximum fee, because the present provision to the constitution would, in the first place, make it necessary for the G. E. B. to act on each local union individually, and in the second place, the G. E. B. would have to decide arbitrarily what the initiation fee should be in order to receive its approval.

If the proposition for a maximum fee is carried it will replace the present section. Otherwise the present section will remain in force and the G. E. B. will be obliged to exercise its authority under the constitutional provision as it stands now.

The third proposition is to make the Joint Board a constitutional body, to be chartered by the General Office. The Joint Boards are not constitutional and chartered bodies today. It seems to us that no explanations are necessary in this case.

The fourth proposition is to enlarge the membership of the General Executive Board from eleven members to fifteen. The G. E. B. was of the opinion that that change is necessary in view of the phenomenal growth of our organization. If carried it will go into effect at the next International election; i. e., the next convention will nominate members on the new basis and the referendum will elect a Board of 15 instead of 11.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary,

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

To the Local Unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Greeting:—

The General Executive Board at its session held early this month in Rochester was confronted by the very serious financial situation of our organization.

The history of our organization, from its very inception, has been phenomenal and without parallel in the Labor Movement. Particularly effective and epoch making has been our work this year.

In January of this year we established the 44-hour week for the industry. In that we led the entire Labor Movement in this country. It was the first great achievement by Labor since the end of the war.

We have followed up that victory by marching triumphantly from point to point throughout the clothing industry, and brought it under our banner. We now have a voice in the control of the working conditions in our industry everywhere throughout the United States and Canada. Only comparatively few clothing places, which are of minor importance, are still to be organized. They are being rapidly brought in line. All those achievements required not only energy, spirit, determination, but also hard and solid cash, and a great deal of it. Had we applied the commercial methods of thrift and stinginess, very much of the benefit that our members now enjoy would have been lost to us. It was only because we used our funds as conditions required that we were able by our spirit, vigor and idealism to secure the desired results. But we lived worse than from hand to mouth. At a time when money was needed most urgently and quickly we were compelled to appeal to our local organizations for voluntary contributions.

The twenty-five cents a month per capita was by far not enough to finance all of our struggles, organization campaigns and other activities. Our organization is now big, powerful and with a very great future. Our possibilities for further progress cannot be exaggerated. We cannot afford to take the risk of being hampered in our useful and fruitful work by lack of ample funds. In short, we must have a perfectly solid financial foundation. The necessity of constantly appealing to the locals for financial assistance is intolerable and frequently discouraging.

The General Executive Board, after a careful study of the situation, unanimously decided to initiate a motion that the monthly per capita be raised from twenty-five cents per member to fifty cents and the weekly per capita in proportion. All members of the Board felt that the membership appreciate the tremendous benefits they have derived from the organization, and that they will gladly furnish the funds necessary for the further success of the organization, considering particularly the rising costs of all things the organization must pay for and its steadily increasing activities.

The interests of the organization make this action imperative.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Editorials in ADVANCE of October 3 and 10 are herewith reproduced as they throw additional light on the subject matter of the above referendum votes:

The constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a very remarkable document in its history and application.

It was "written" by a hastily summoned emergency convention two months after the Nashville battle. The enemy had his heaviest guns trained upon us: An injunction issued by the Supreme Court, the anathema of the official labor movement, physical assault, character assassination and many similar methods of warfare.

It was in the flashing light of the enemy's rapidly firing guns that our constitution was "written." As no new constitution could be written under such conditions, we did the next best thing. We took the antiquated and undemocratic constitution of the former autocratic and reactionary organization and made it "safe for democracy." We tore out the heart of despotism from that document, removed all relics of oppression and misrule and put into it a democratic heart and soul. The convention knew that the constitution was no perfect instrument, but it was as perfect as it could then be made. The hope had been entertained that the constitution would eventually be rewritten to make it a true Amalgamated document in form and substance. But that was never done. There was always something of greater and more immediate importance to claim our time and attention. Occasionally a referendum vote is taken on a proposed change to the constitution in order to meet a given condition.

It is highly gratifying to note that our members are not constitution worshippers. They begin dusting it off only at the approach of a convention, when resolutions assume very high seasonal importance.

The absence of the necessity for the membership to delve into the intricacies of the constitution is perhaps the best proof of the splendid harmony prevailing in our ranks, both among the rank and file and between them and the officers.

But the constitution is a vital factor in the life of our organization. There are many things which can be determined by the authority of the constitution only. The provisions of the constitution are changed whenever that becomes necessary. Those changes may be initiated for a referendum vote by the convention, the local unions or the General Executive Board.

At present there are four motions of the General Executive Board before the membership on referendum. If carried, the constitution will be changed accordingly.

One of the motions deals with the General Executive Board itself.

This Board is now composed of eleven members, including the General President, General Secretary and General Treasurer. The size of the Board has remained unchanged since the formation of the organization. But the organization has changed enormously. It has grown and expanded. While we were at first confined to one section, we now include the whole industry. We also have elements among our membership today which we did not have in the earlier days. The members of the General Executive Board felt that provision must be made for a more adequate representation through the General Executive Board for

the greater Amalgamated of today. The present members of the Board have, therefore, expressed a willingness and a desire to share their honors and responsibilities with a larger membership of the Board, and, accordingly, have submitted for a referendum vote a proposition to increase the membership of the General Executive Board from eleven to fifteen.

Another proposition for a constitutional amendment is purely technical but important, nevertheless. The Amalgamated has evolved the Joint Board form of central bodies. It has proved very efficient. It is the backbone of the general organization. But because of the unusual circumstances under which our constitution was "made", as explained above, no place was provided for the Joint Board in the constitution. Our former organization consistently discouraged the Joint Board tendency, because it made for efficiency, not only against oppressive employers but also against oppressive Union officials. Under the Amalgamated, the Joint Boards have enjoyed all privileges of constitutional bodies, but that was in spite of the silence of the constitution. The General Executive Board wishes to make the place of the Joint Board secure by "constitutionalizing" it.

The other two motions deal with maximum initiation fee and higher per capita.

The constitution gives the General Executive Board power to veto an unreasonable initiation fee. But that power is almost worthless. The Board may determine what is unreasonable, but how will it determine what is reasonable? It may declare a fifty dollar fee unfair, but by what guide will it fix the fair fee? Will it be five dollars? Ten dollars? Fifteen dollars? By what principle will the amount be set? The General Executive Board members will be able to consult their own individual sentiments only. They will have no way of knowing the sentiments of the general membership.

The awkwardness of the present constitutional provision had not been realized until the curse of high initiation fees had begun to make itself felt.

Let there be no mistake about the purpose of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. It is no less—it cannot be more—than to organize every man and woman in the clothing industry for the very highest and noblest aims of the working class, for true industrial democracy. That we can never hope to attain unless we constantly appeal to those who are still outside of our ranks to come in, and make it possible for them to do so. If the purpose of the Organization were to raise wages and reduce hours for those who are already members, and stop there, it would hardly be the source of inspiration and enthusiasm it has been; it would have been a closed corporation for sordid material advantages as all business corporations are. Also, it would have given the lie to those who carried the message of working class solidarity from one end of the industry to the other, where disunity and chaos prevailed, and the torch of light and warmth where darkness and cold held all in their deathly grip.

To shut our doors in the faces of the few who are still unorganized in the large clothing centers would be folly; to do so against the larger numbers of unorganized in the smaller markets would be madness.

The members of the General Executive Board, at their session last month in Rochester, viewed with alarm the tendency to make initiation fees prohibitive to new members. They felt that that tendency was still in its early stage and should be checked. They decided to appeal to the membership to utter itself against the dangerous innovation. In submitting to the membership a proposition for a ten dollar maximum initiation fee, the Board members were imbued with the feeling that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, now that it is great, strong and powerful, CAN AFFORD TO BE GENEROUS. Let those who still have to come into our organization feel that the power of a great labor organization is never used against workingmen. Let all who come in do so with a spirit of brotherhood and cooperation that will make each one of them an asset to the organization instead of a liability.

If any applicant should happen to be guilty of a serious crime against his fellow workers, his case may be treated in accordance with its own merits, but let not the many honest workers be penalized because of the possible guilt of an individual.

When the next industrial struggle comes, let it find all workers of the industry under our banner; let no one remain outside because of our refusal to let him in.

Interest is mostly concentrated upon the motion to raise the monthly per capita tax from twenty-five cents to fifty cents.

That has been made imperative by the growth, success and tremendous responsibilities of our organization.

Originally our organizing efforts were confined to the large centers. While the Organization was small, the work done was in proportion to the means at our disposal. When the Organization grew big, the larger membership created larger funds. In those days, too, each city was an independent principality, having but very loose bonds, if any, with other cities.

It is not so today. The entire Canadian and American clothing industry is now organized as one city. While each individual locality has its own problems to deal with, the International Office must, and does, deal with all problems. Now we all realize that the large centers cannot permanently stay organized and maintain and improve conditions unless the smaller places are likewise organized. That is so because the smaller and unorganized places compete with the larger and organized centers, and serve as points of gravitation for employers who seek to escape the jurisdiction of the Union in the large places. Whether for reasons of principle or of practical advantage, or both, we must organize and take care of the smaller clothing places. Our common interests so dictate to us. We have done so to the best of our ability. And there is still very much to be done.

None of those places is a financial asset to the Organization. They are almost all liabilities. Frequently, the better they are organized the greater the financial burden to the General Office because of the greater responsibilities.

The choice is, on the one hand, between bearing the financial burden of bringing and keeping the smaller places under our jurisdiction and

control, and on the other, declining that burden and abandoning the small places though that will endanger the interests of our membership everywhere.

We emphasize this point only because the rank and file cannot be conscious of it unless it is brought to their attention. But our tasks are enormous in all places, large and small.

The attacks upon us have been unceasing. Not a day passed but found us on the firing line somewhere. We are engaged in some very serious battles today. We need not expect our enemies to grant us peace and rest when the present battles are over. Those battles require not only spirit and energy but also funds, and ever more funds. They are exceedingly costly.

The per capita dues as they are today are not sufficient to meet all administration and routine expenses and also all the great costs of the struggles that are so often imposed upon us. As a result we must, entirely too often, resort to the very unsatisfactory method of appealing to the Local Unions for voluntary contributions. That is discouraging, and does not make for efficiency. An organization like ours, big, powerful and always in the ring, must have a permanent and steady flow of income sufficient to carry on its great work at least free from financial drawbacks.

We have grown so rapidly that it sometimes seems hard to realize that we are no longer today what we were yesterday. But we must realize it. Our problems and our opportunities are immense. We must be able fully to live up to them. The welfare of our membership depends on that. Obstruction in our work is a menace to the interests of the members; freedom of action is a blessing to them.

The referendum yielded the following result:

Increase in per capita was carried by 19,829 votes against 1,922.

Increase of G.E. B. membership was carried by 15,667 votes against 1,170.

Chartering of Joint Boards was carried by 12,192 votes against 2,734.

Limiting initiation fees to \$10. was lost by 9,048 votes against 8,753.

A small majority of the members voting favored the \$10 maximum initiation fee, but, the motion having been initiated by the General Executive Board, a two-thirds majority vote was necessary in order to make it a part of the fundamental law of the Organization.

The attitude of those members who opposed writing the \$10 maximum into the constitution was that they were not against the principle of the proposition. The bulk of the membership are in harmony with that principle. There is, however, a feeling that in some cases a higher nominal fee serves the purpose of protecting the organization from abuse of its hospitality, while in all bona fide cases fees are fixed as low as conditions warrant. That was the position taken by many liberal minded members, whose unselfish interest in the Organization is well known.

It might be added that no instance of unreasonable initiation fee has been brought to our attention since the attempt to limit such fees constitutionally.

## Resignation of General Treasurer David Wolf—Vote On Combining Offices Of General Secretary And General Treasurer

The following letter of resignation was read at the meeting of the General Executive Board in New York, January 26-29, 1920:

New York, November 20, 1920.

Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, Amalgamated

Clothing Workers of America,

Dear Brother Schlossberg:

It is with a feeling of keen regret that I am submitting to you my resignation from the office of General Treasurer and from membership in the General Executive Board.

I have been with this organization since its inception, have participated in all its struggles and shared all of its joys and sorrows. I have contributed my humble share to the success of this organization. I had hoped that it would be my privilege to participate in its noble work for a long time to come. But private circumstance, over which I had no control, caused me, against my will, to undertake another line of activity, and I am now compelled to withdraw from my place in the organization.

I shall never forget the years that I spent with my colleagues in building this magnificent structure. The associations I have formed there will forever remain dear to me.

I am leaving my associates in the great struggle most unwillingly and with a heavy heart, as I had wished never to be separated from them. I had found great spiritual joy in their ranks.

I assure you that my interest in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall never cease and I shall always follow up your work with deep interest.

With kindest personal regards to all and affection for the organization, I am

Faithfully yours,

DAVID WOLF.

The resignation was accepted and the Board considered the advisability of continuing the office of General Treasurer, which has proved to be a useless formality. The Board arrived at the unanimous opinion to recommend to the membership the abolition of that office. For that purpose a referendum vote was initiated and the following call was sent out February 7, 1920:

To All Locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Greeting:—

The General Executive Board, at its session in New York, Jan. 26-29, 1920, discussed the office of treasureship in our organization. It was the unanimous opinion of the Board that that office is a nominal one, the treasurer in this organization having no real functions to perform.

When we formed our organization we took that office over along with other provisions of the former organization. While there may have been proper functions for the treasurer in a small organization where there was no need of a modern, elaborate

and scientific method of bookkeeping and financial system, that office has become entirely superfluous in our present organization. The provisions of the constitution in the matter of treasurership cannot possibly apply today, unless we want to reduce our efficient method to an inefficient one.

The Board were of the opinion that since the treasurer in our organization never had any real functions, as all the work that the constitution assigns to the treasurer must be done by the secretary, this office be entirely eliminated and the constitution be so changed as to express conditions as they really are.

Since the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America its secretary has always been the treasurer in fact, though not in name. It is now proposed that this be made also in name by combining the offices of secretary and treasurer into one; i. e., that the secretary should become the secretary-treasurer.

Accordingly, it was decided that the following sections of our constitution be changed:

Section 1 of Article V shall read: "The General Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America shall consist of a General President and a General Secretary-Treasurer, and that the General Executive Board shall consist of 15 members including the two General Officers."

Section 4 of Article VI be changed so as to eliminate the following words: "and pay over to the General Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor, all funds in his hands at the end of each month after paying all claims approved by the General Executive Board."

Section 11 of Article VI—"General Treasurer" be entirely eliminated and the title General Secretary-Treasurer be used wherever the title General Secretary now occurs in the constitution.

That will make the constitution describe conditions as they really are today and as they have been since the Amalgamated was organized. While this change is but a formality, as it will change nothing at all in our system of work—on the contrary, it is the system of work that makes the change in the constitution necessary—the change is important, nevertheless.

One vote is taken on the several clauses in which changes are proposed for the reason that in this case one clause cannot be changed without the rest.

Enclosed you will find a ballot on which you will enter the votes cast for and against, to be certified by the chairman of the meeting and the secretary and the seal of the local union, and returned to this office not later than March 8, 1920.

Fraternally yours
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

General Secretary,

The referendum was carried by 6,742 votes against 1.280.

# Resignation Of Board Member Harry Cohen

The General Secretary received the following letter of resignation from Brother Harry Cohen, and copies of it were forwarded to all members of the General Executive Board:

New York, February 4, 1920.

Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 31 Union Square, City.

Dear Brother Schlossberg:-

It is with a feeling of deep regret that I am herewith handing to you my resignation as a member of the General Executive Board, to go into effect immediately. I do so only because of circumstances which are taking me to another field of activities. I am finding high gratification in the fact that I have given the best that was in me towards the upbuilding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which is, and will forever remain, dear to me. I shall always value the personal friendship of the General Executive Board and the appreciation they have so generously shown me.

Though I am officially leaving you, I assure you that my heart will always be with you and I shall be happy to render any assistance I may be able to give if there should be occasion for it.

Accept my heartiest thanks and sincerest wishes for your continued success. Though on the outside I hope you will always consider me as one of your own.

Very fraternally yours,

HARRY COHEN.

No Election for filling the vacancies was held because of the nearness of the Convention.

# HIGH COST OF LIVING AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The world war brought with it high prices. That has been the inevitable result of all wars, and it could not have been otherwise with this war. For more than four years life and treasure were being destroyed and the disastrous effects of that could not be escaped. The sufferings naturally flowing from a disaster so stupendous were aggravated by the fact that, in our present scheme of Society, the economic and industrial agencies are owned, controlled and operated privately and for private gain. The world's misfortune was the greatest opportunity in ages for private persons and corporations to enrich themselves. Prices on necessaries of life were raised arbitrarily and without any appearance of excuse. The world war made a host of new millionaires; the game of profiteering since the war has infinitely multiplied the millions of the new and the old millionaires. The profiteers are defying the people, the legislators and the Government. They conveniently shift responsibility to the workers, the scapegoat of all times.

It is true that wages have risen as compared with pre-war times. But the rise in wages has been nothing more than a struggle to keep apace with rising prices of the necessaries of life. How much have prices risen? How much have wages risen? Statisticians are busy seeking the answers. The great trouble is that figures may be manipulated so easily that by a mere change in grouping it is possible to prove a greater or smaller rise and even a fall in the cost of living. The prices of some articles rise higher than those of others; some may even drop while prices generally are rising. It is thus possible for an expert to get almost any result desired. But the working family's budget is always a safe guide. The housewife knows that the cost of the sum total of the things she must buy for the family is rising steadily and sometimes rapidly. Wherever the wages have risen in proportion to the cost of living, the workers with the "high wages" have just managed to keep themselves at the old position; they resisted a lowering of their standard. Wherever the "higher wages" have not kept step with the higher prices, the wages are actually lower than they had been and the condition of the workers has deteriorated. At best it is like walking on two even stilts; at worst it is like walking on uneven stilts, which must ultimately lead to serious trouble.

The point is clear, however, that the workers can not profiteer or accumulate riches. The very fact that they remain in the working class is sufficient proof of that. Rich people do not stay in this class. Yet, the blame for the higher living costs is laid at the workers' door.

The newspapers published sensational stories about the workers' "wage profiteering." A small wage increase, in order to meet at least partly the high prices of the necessities of life, was denounced as a robbing of the "consumer." For the purpose of fighting the Labor Movement the population was divided into two classes: the WORKERS and the CONSUMERS. It seemed as if the workers do not consume, they keep all their earnings in their stockings, and the consumers do not work, which made each increase an unmitigated injury to them. We submit, however, that while a part of the consumers are not workers in any socially useful sense, all of the workers are consumers. Not one of us would have the physical strength to earn a cent in wages if he had not consumed things produced by labor. A ten per cent. wage increase was immediately magnified by the press into a fabulous increase in the price of the finished product. The unceasing attacks upon the Labor Movement undoubtedly led many honest persons to believe them.

Last January the National Retailers' Association invited President Hillman to address its Convention in Chicago. President Hillman addressed the Convention and made clear the position of our Organization. He explained that while wages have, in terms of percentage, risen higher than the cost of living, it must be remembered that the labor and living conditions prevailing in the clothing industry before the workers were organized were so low that the higher wages paid today are still insufficient for a proper standard of living.

President Hillman suggested that the Department of Justice call a conference of all elements in the clothing industry and undertake a thorough investigation into the matter of profiteering. A resolution to that effect was carried by the Convention.

Mr. Howard Figg, Assistant United States Attorney General, then called such a conference at the Department of Justice, Washington, February 2, 1920, and asked us to send a delegation. Brothers Hillman, Schlossberg and Blumberg were chosen by the General Executive Board to attend the conference. Rpresentatives of cotton and woolen growers (farmers), woolen manufacturers, clothing manufacturers and retailers were present, besides our representatives. Mr. Figg, who presided, stated the problem and a discussion followed.

Each group, speaking for itself, naturally denied profiteering. If our representatives had not been at the conference, the source of the trouble would have been traced by somebody directly to labor. Because of our presence no one attempted it. Four sessions of the conference, three on February 2 and one on February 3, led to the discouraging conclusion that no reduction in the price of clothing was possible. There was no assessing of blame; only a statement of fact. That statement was true. The Government has been unable to bring any relief. Prices are high and climbing higher. Given a system of production for private profits instead of public service, there must be profit making, whether prices are high or low. The difference between profit and profiteering is only in degree. There is no way of telling at what point profiteering in the present unpopular sense really begins.

The only thing that the conference was unanimously agreed upon was that prices were high and that conditions were very uncertain. Otherwise there were perhaps as many opinions as there were conferees. One merchant complained that conditions were unfavorable because people are hoarding their money and keeping it from circulation, which tends to unstabilize business. Another stated it as a positive fact that the people have lost the virtue of thrift, have become extravagant, spend their last dollar and thereby boost prices. The manufacturers of woolens knew precisely how many heads of wool-bearing sheep there are throughout the world and how much wool will be produced within a given number of years, but they were unable to answer a simple question put to them by the farmers: "How much does it cost to produce a vard of cloth?" The question was relevant because one of the representatives of the manufacturers stated that the labor cost in a \$60 suit amounts to \$12. With the cost of labor and raw material known, it would have been helpful to know the difference between what it costs to produce a yard of cloth and what it is sold for.

The Conference showed conclusively that the Department of Justice had no program of action and did not see its way clear to reduce the cost of clothing or of anything else. A Committee was appointed, consisting of representatives from each group, to cooperate with the Department of Justice in bringing down the cost of clothing. The Committee has not as yet been called to a meeting and it is safe to assume that it never will be called. The newspapers had very much to say about the campaign of the Department of Justice to protect the public from profiteering, but that protection is still unseen, unfelt, unheard and unknown.

When the workers cry out against the high cost of living they are "disloyal" to the country and when they strike for better wages they are "outlaws". But when non-workers raise that cry against the higher wages of today that cry is supported by all "good" people.

The beneficiaries of the profiteering system are exploiting the outcry against profiteering to deprive the workers of whatever means they may still have for their own protection. We have already reported above about a bill introduced in the New York State Legislature outlawing strikes. The New York World of April 21 published the following dispatch:

ALBANY, April 20.—Demands for enactment of the Law bill, designed to protect the public against combinations between employers and employees to fix the market price of products of various kinds, poured in on legislators today. Lawmakers were told it afforded a direct means of eliminating one of the causes of the high cost of living.

"I have every confidence that the bill will pass," said Senator Law tonight. "We expect to take the measure up in the Senate tomorrow and send it over to the Assembly as soon as possible. The bill is receiving very general support because it will help the consumer in his fight against high prices."

Senators and Assemblymen have been informed that in many trades, and particularly in the manufacture of clothing, employees now exercise an arbitrary right to which the Law bill will put an end. They examine the books of their employer at certain intervals and if the profits shown are not sufficiently large to justify an increase in wages, employer and employee agree upon a boost in the price of the article of material, and the cost of the higher wages is assessed to the consumer.

"It won't be necessary for persons to wear overalls if the Law bill is put through," said one Senator, "it will drive down the prices of clothing."

The bill amends the general business law giving any individual employer or corporation the right to petition the courts for injunctive relief where labor unions or other combinations seek to dictate the price to be paid by the consumer. It also would allow the employer to obtain protection in the courts against organizations of employees who try to dictate wages and hours of work.

According to the concluding sentence of the above dispatch any improvement in wages or other conditions would be made punishable by the courts.

The workers must pay the profiteering prices asked of them by the trusts and monopolies but they must not obtain relief through better wages.

Fortunately the Legislature adjourned April 24, before it had time to pass those anti-labor bills.

The burning question of the high cost of living leads us directly to

another vital question—Cooperation.

#### THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In European countries the Cooperative Movement is very strong and in close ties with the Labor Movement, each supporting the other. The Cooperative Movement has attained the greatest success in Russia. In this country the Cooperative Movement did not take root as it did on the other side of the Atlantic. It was one of the "un-American" hobbies that "we" did not care to know anything about. But the war has wrought a great change even with respect to this movement. We have learned to look at the European peoples as such who are rather above the stage of primitiveness, and who knew a thing or two from which we might profit. Besides, the lack of information here was such that it had not been generally known that the Cooperative movements in European countries had reached such proportions as to make them respectable and entitled to attention. The greatest factor in bringing about a change of attitude was, of course, the soaring prices. The railroad workers, the miners, and others, were struggling to keep wages moving along with prices but found it impossible. They could move the trains and coal, but not wages. The Government had promised relief but it never materialized. When a person finds himself with his last dollar he begins to think of intensive economy. The eyes of the workers turned to the Cooperative Movement, not to displace but to supplement the industrial movement and the political movement.

On November 21 and 22, 1919, a convention of farmer, labor and cooperative organizations was held in Chicago. There an All-American Farmer-Labor-Cooperative Commission was elected and directed to call a Cooperative Congress in Chicago for Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1920.

When the General Executive Board was in session last January in New York, an invitation to attend that Congress was received. The Board was also addressed by Mr. Oscar H. McGill, Secretary of the All-American Cooperative Commission. The Board elected the following members as delegates: President Sidney Hillman, Secretary Joseph Schlossberg and Board members Frank Rosenblum, Samuel Levin and A. D. Marimpietri.

# The aims of the Congress were presented in the following program:

1—To co-ordinate cooperative effort among the various producing and distributing groups of cooperators to the end that speculation, profiteering and all unnecessary intermediary trading and jobbing in the necessities of life should be eliminated and that there should be established, as nearly as possible, direct buying and selling between original producers and ultimate consumers.

2—To educate the workers through their organizations and press to the almost completely neglected method of increasing the daily wage by multiplying its purchasing power through cooperative trading methods.

3—Being both borrowers and lenders in matters of finance and outrageously exploited in transactions involving either operation by those who control the life blood of the business world, to undertake to establish among and between the workers of the mine, factory, farm and field a financial system of their own for the permanent use of their own money and credit in cooperatively financing the means of production and distribution of life's necessities.

4—To teach and give the widest publicity to the contrast afforded between a system of industry directed on the one hand by competition and self-interest, and, on the other, by cooperative effort; and to show that while the results in the first case have but naturally led up to the present frightful world conflagration, industrial democracy and mutuality in business are indispensable if civilization is ever to abolish industrial and military warfare and usher in a new social order.

Our delegates attended the All-American Farmer-Labor-Cooperative Congress, held at Car Men's Hall, Chicago, February 12-15, 1920. Brothers Hillman and Schlossberg addressed the Convention and were placed on two committees, the former on the Committee on Banking, the latter on the Committee on Public Press.

Our representatives' impressions of the Congress were published in ADVANCE and are reproduced here:

The Cooperative Movement in this country is far behind the same movement in European countries and lacks almost completely the working class character of the European Cooperative Movements. Our exaggerated sense of individualism kept us from cooperating for our own, the people's, interests. But while the wealth producing people did not cooperate, profit extorting capital did. That alone made it possible for "big business," trusts and monopolies to grow and dominate the nation. "Big Business" succeeded in camouflaging its piratical operations by the fiction of "competition is the soul of trade." In the Labor Movement the natural instinct of cooperation and mutual aid was crushed by the evil spirit of craft unionism and jurisdictional warfare. A vulgar and perverted individualism effectively kept the working class from cooperating for any purpose at all outside of the stiflingly narrow limits of artificial craft divisions. As a result, strikes were lost, organizations destroyed and the great political powers of the working class allowed to die from disuse. Only to the extent that any group of workers had the courage to free themselves from the strangling limitations laid out for them by the "system" did they succeed in elevating themselves and promoting their working class interests. The philosophy of American craft unionism and the philosophy of cooperation have been mutually excluding. While the Labor Movements in all European countries have developed powerful cooperative movements, the Labor Movement in America has only succeeded in developing a mossbacked bureaucracy.

But, while the Labor Movement was wasting its time and energy, the farmers were busy doing things. The farmers have the advantage of being free from the craft union straight jacket. They are at liberty to organize themselves in any manner and for any purpose they see fit. Thus, while the trade union bureaucracy was keeping the

workers from exercising their political rights for the advancement of their own interests the farmers built up a great political power and are capturing the reins of government. They have already taken over the government in North Dakota and are rapidly marching towards triumph in other states.

And also, while the trade union movement was busy complicating and aggravating the suicidal jurisdictional wrangles, the farmers banded themselves together and built up their cooperatives of various kinds.

The All American Farmer, Labor, Cooperative Congress, held week at Chicago, was the first attempt on a national scale to bring together Farmer and Labor organizations on the field of Cooperatives, and, therefore, mainly of a get-acquainted nature.

Superficially it would seem that property owning farmers and non-property owning factory wage workers would bring opposing frames of mind and hold language that would be unintelligible to one another.

Perhaps that would have been so years ago. It was otherwise this time. The recent economic and political events in this country have, on a whole, found the same response in the hearts of the farmers and the workers. Capitalist exploitation is threatening the farmer more visibly than the factory worker. The latter is so completely interwoven in the capitalist industrial system that he frequently fails to see the system; his view is obstructed by his most immediate environment and interest. With the wage worker it is, unfortunately, a case of not seeing the woods because of the trees. The wage worker who holds a job does not often visualize his economic insecurity. If the flow of weekly wages is of sufficiently long continuity, the worker loses sight of the coming unemployment and begins to imagine himself economically safe and independent. The shock may bring him a rude awakening but the awakening does not come before the shock arrives.

It is different with the farmer today. He sees Modern Capitalism, or, as it is commonly called, Big Business, as a growing menace, facing him every minute of the day and always threatening him with destruction. The railroad trust, the speculators, the banks, the grain elevator monopoly, are to him so many tentacles of the same monster. Each group, which is but one part of the complete system, threatens the farmer with annihilation unless he accepts the terms dictated by them.

According to statements made by farmers' representatives at the Congress, the food trust offers to the farmer 1½ cents for a pound of navy beans that sell in Boston at 18 cents. The railroads, while in private hands, can manipulate transportation so as to make a slave of the farmer or destroy him if he resists. There are three groups of bankers in Wall Street who dominate the 267,000 miles of railroads in this country. They wield a crushing power over the nation. That power is clearly visible to the farmer. The farmer must have the accommodation of the bank in order to carry him through from one harvest to the other. The bank's terms are not only financial but also political. A farmer must agree to do or to abstain from doing certain things as an American citizen in order to get the desired loan. Unless the farmer is willing to lose his farm he must accept the burdens the capitalist system of exploitation imposes upon him.

As a matter of self defence he begins to search for remedies. He demands of the government not to return the railroads to the private owners. The government does return the roads to the railroad trust and thereby revives that trust's dictatorship over the farmers. That injects an element of bitterness in the farmer's soul against the Administration, which, he feels, favors "special interests" against the people.

The farmer attempts to organize himself with his fellows for purposes of mutual aid and the elimination of the useless, because unproductive, toll collecting agencies. He organizes local, state and national cooperatives. He is promptly informed by the bank that unless he withdraws from those cooperatives his mortgage will not be renewed or the next loan will not be made to him. Exasperated by the browbeating methods of the bank he and his fellow farmers agree to organize a cooperative bank for themselves to

help each other by their own collective efforts. An application is made for a charter. The authorities, under various pretexts, refuse the charter. Where that cannot be done successfully under existing laws, the required bills are promptly introduced into the legislature. Thus the Iowa legislature enacted a law suspending the issuing of charters to state banks for two years. In other cases other special laws are enacted to obstruct cooperative banking. The farmer's cup of bitterness is growing ever fuller.

When the farmer sees that the industrial and financial interests are using the powers of government to keep him down, he unites with his fellow farmers to wrest the government from the hands of his oppressors. He succeeded in one state and is on the road to success in others. He finds the experiment very useful. He takes many functions out of private and profit-making hands and places them in the hands of the government that is owned by the farming population of the farmer state. He is conscious of having done the very thing he had been taught in the school, the church and in every other place where good citizenship was preached to him. The people have a right to choose their own government. That is just what the farmer has done in North Dakota. Imagine the indignation and chagrin of the honest, loyal and hardworking farmer, when he hears himself denounced as a seditionist and Bolshevik because he followed the dictates of his conscience and created in his state a government to protect his family instead of the speculators, banking trust and elevator monopoly. Imagine also the amazement of the farmer when his leaders are indicted, tried and convicted as a result of their honest efforts to protect the people from their despoilers.

It is true that not all farmers are situated that way, just as it is true that not all wage earners are actually suffering from all the evils inherent in the present wage system, but the lot of the farmers as described above, and as taken from statements heard at the Congress, is sufficiently general to make it the prevailing condition.

The cup of bitterness among the thinking farmers is now filled to overflow.

It was no wonder, then, that the farmers' representatives came to the Congress with a spirit of revolt against social conditions not unlike the spirit of the workers. Both farmer and wage worker feel keenly the oppression by the capitalistic system, though each views it from a different angle. Both also feel the heavy and hostile hand of an undemocratic and anti-people Administration keeping them down, and are conscious of a growing sense of opposition to the prevailing regime.

It was therefore quite natural for the two heretofore distant and foreign elements to understand each other perfectly.

The addresses delivered at the Congress were full of human interest. Many of the stories told were revelations. So much cooperative work was done in this country and so little was known about it.

There are a large number of cooperative organizations, but there seems to be little organic unity among them all. The history and experiences of the older and more successful cooperatives in the Old World do not seem, on the whole, to have made a deep impression upon the American Cooperative Movement. The strong working class character of European cooperatives could not make its impression on the American Cooperatives from which the Labor Movement was absent.

Will Organized Labor enter the Cooperative Movement now? It ought to. Judging from the fact that the railroad workers and other strong and influential labor organizations participated in the Congress it would seem that Organized Labor will be represented sufficiently strong to make its own impress upon the Cooperative Movement.

The A. F. of L., in obedience to its "time-honored" fear of everything that is new and free from mold, made itself conspicuous by its absence. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was still more conspicuous by its presence and active participation. Its representatives were among the leading speakers and on important committees. The Mine Workers and the Railroad Workers were strongly represented.

There are two strong reasons for the participation by the workers in the Cooperative Movement: Lowering the cost of living by eliminating waste of various kinds, and

the development of a consciousness and a capacity among the producers of wealth for conducting and administering their own affairs, the affairs of the people. Important as the reduction of the cost of living may be, we frankly submit that the human solidarity factor makes its strongest appeal to us. That includes not only cooperation and mutual aid in the democratic production and distribution of the necessaries of life; it includes also the tremendous possibilities of the cooperative organizations of Labor for serving as commissaries for striking workers. It is done in Europe and it can be done with equal effectiveness here.

The Labor Movement must pull itself out from the old rut of suicidal inactivity and begin to cope with the great problems of the day. The Labor Movement must make itself a vital factor in the Nation's political life. It must deal with all important matters of the people. One of the things it should apply its energies to is the Cooperative Movement. That will develop new and additional resources for the Labor Movement for purposes of offence and defence.

There may be many things in which wage workers and farmers have no common interest, but there are also many things that bring them together on common ground. In the particular field of Cooperatives, farmer and wage worker supplement each other in the processes of production and distribution of the necessaries of life for the people.

While the Cooperatives may not free the worker from his present status, the participation by Organized Labor in the Cooperative Movement will bring a large measure of democracy and human happiness into industry.

The next Cooperative Congress will be held on Lincoln's Birthday next year. At the pace at which the world is now moving, many things of historical importance might happen in the course of the coming twelve months. A Cooperative Movement of Organized Labor might be one of them.

Our official journals are devoting considerable space to various phases of cooperation, bringing to the members a good deal of information on this subject.

Our members are already participating in several cooperative projects. A movement is now on foot to organize a cooperative bank in New York. Our members have taken the initiative, with President Hillman as representative of the Committee on Banking of the Chicago Cooperative Congress. Officers of other organizations in the needle trades are with us in this work.

The members of the New York Clothing Cutters' Union have organized a credit union, which is known in European countries as a people's bank. In this we have the kind assistance of Prof. W. F. McCaleb, Secretary of the National Committee on People's Banks.

In Chicago a number of members have formed a group for the purpose of building a cooperative apartment house for their own use.

There is a great and grateful field for organized labor in cooperation. The existing machinery of the industrial organization may be utilized to get the cooperative work started. If we enter the cooperative field with the determination to make it a complement of the industrial and political Labor Movement, it will bring greater strength to organized labor in addition to the economic advantages for the individual members.

It is impossible to enter into a fuller discussion of the subject here. Articles by Dr. James P. Warbasse, Presidentof the Cooperative League of America, and Solon DeLeon, written at our request for this purpose, and

giving a general exposition of cooperation, are included in this report as appendicis. We should encourage the participation of our membership in cooperative work.

## ASSISTING OUR FELLOW WORKERS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Occasionally a request comes to us from groups of workers outside of our industry to help them with advice or funds or both, either to organize or conduct the work of their organization. We have always been glad to give to such workers all assistance possible.

One such group were the textile workers. The "official" organization in their industry is a counterpart of the former organization in our industry. Hence the workers remained unorganized and their interests unprotected. Early in 1919 a number of strikes sprang up in several textile centres. We were asked by the strikers to assist them with organizers, which we promptly did. Our organizers were everywhere subjected to persecution and in one case two of them escaped lynching by a miracle. The "official" labor leaders, employers and police made common cause against the textile workers and our organizers.

Three of our general organizers were arrested by the police of Paterson, New Jersey, Saturday, February 8, and deported from the city. The organizers, I. Goldstein, Nathan Kleinman and Julius Powers, had gone to Paterson in response to an appeal for assistance from the textile workers who had been on strike for a shorter working week. They were arrested by Chief of Police Tracy at a meeting at Institute Hall in the midst of an address by General Organizer Kleinman. When Kleinman urged the strikers to stand firm for their demand, the police chief leaped upon the platform and announced that "no outside agitators will be permitted in Paterson."

At the same time strikes were developing in other places, the most important of which was in Lawrence, Mass., where great battles of the textile workers had been fought in former years. Those were all spontaneous strikes of unorganized workers against intolerable conditions. We received the following call from Lawrence:

The General Strike Committee of the Lawrence strikers are workingmen. They are under the necessity of holding constant meetings to keep up the morale of the strikers and to keep them informed of progress. They have to defend strikers arrested by the police. They have to provide food and coal for those in need as well as for their own families. They are ready to endure privations themselves, but they must also provide food and coal for those unable to buy it or else allow them to go back into the mills and lose the strike. Hall rent, printing, legal services, food and coal have to be paid for, and the cost is high.

The present struggle is one against further reduction in a starvation wage. The workers of Lawrence will go on, unless they are utterly vanquished and cowed, to seek a real living wage, to organize "one big union" for all the textile workers of Lawrence to take their part in preparing for the day when democracy in industry shall be realized, and the workers of the world shall own and control their own industries.

Will You Help? Send your contributions to the Boston Lawrence Strike Committee, Room 79, 2 Park Square, Boston. Make checks payable to George E. Roewer, Jr., Treasurer.

The New York Organization took the matter up and issued the following appeal to its members in the latter part of March:

Thirty-five thousand textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., have been on strike for eight weeks to force a reduction in the work week from fifty-four hours to forty-eight hours, with no reduction in pay, and for the recognition of their right to organize.

Without the help of other workers, or any outside organization, they have been making a splendid fight against the Woolen Trust, one of the most powerful monopolies in the world. Arrayed with the Woolen Trust against the strikers are the city officials of Lawrence, the police, the capitalist press and all other evil agencies which support Big Business in its war against Progress.

The rights guaranteed the people of the United States by the Constitution—the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage—are trampled under foot by the czars of the textile mills and their army of gunmen and sluggers. Mounted cossacks, recruited from the police departments of neighboring cities, ride down pickets as they walk peacefully on the sidewalks. Friends of the strikers from Boston were ridden down by these cossacks when they came to cheer the strikers in their struggle.

The Lawrence textile workers are fellow workers in the clothing industry. The General Executive Board of the Amalgamated has pledged them every possible assistance. A donation of one hour's wage every week for the duration of the strike will be the best way for you to help. Give more if you can. Shop chairmen have subscription lists which will be passed around. The cry for help is urgent. Do not delay. Give liberally and give quickly! The need is great to maintain the soup kitchens, coffee houses and the milk station which prevent the employers from starving the strikers into submission.

One hour's wage every week should be the Amalgamated's answer to the Czars of Lawrence. We urge all members to respond to this call for help in the Amalgamated fashion.

We sent a number of organizers to assist the Lawrence strikers, some from our regular staff, as August Bellanca, Frank Bellanca, Artoni and Kleinman, and some especially appointed for the textile workers, as Rubenstein and Capraro.

At its session in Chicago, March, 1919, the General Executive Board voted the amount of two thousand dollars for the strikers in addition to the amounts of money that were being collected among our members in the shops.

The enemies of organized labor inaugurated a reign of terror in Lawrence. The lives of strikers and their sympathizers were unsafe. The authorities were openly hostile to them. That terrorism was carried to a point where General Organizers Nathan Kleinman and Anthony Capraro were kidnapped from the Needham Hotel in Lawrence, May 6, early in the morning and terribly beaten by a "vigilance committee" of fifteen armed masked men. Kleinman was permitted to leave, after a cruel beating. Capraro was beaten into unconsciousness. The masked men were about to hang Capraro to a tree when frightened away by a passing automobile. A rope had been placed around Capraro's neck, the noose had been drawn up tight and all were prepared to murder him.

The fifteen masked men came to Capraro's room at 2 o'clock in the morning. They broke in the door and began to beat Capraro with clubs.

Capraro's cries aroused Kleinman. As he rushed from his room to Capraro's aid he was seized by four men.

Both organizers were stripped of their clothes and taken to a deserted road on the outskirts of the city. There they were bound with ropes and beaten with clubs and blackjacks. Capraro fell unconscious, his face and head covered with blood from a score of deep gashes.

When exhausted from their cruel tortures, the masked fiends told Kleinman to "beat it" and never return to Lawrence. Kleinman walked to Lowell where the police gave him clothing and car-fare to Boston.

Capraro was picked up in the road by a party in an automobile and taken to General Hospital in Boston in a critical condition.

Capraro and Kleinman had been frequently threatened by business men of Lawrence because of their activity in the textile strike. The Chief of Police refused to give them any protection.

Kleinman returned to his organizing duties within a short time.

Capraro's condition was very serious. At first it seemed hopeless, but he slowly regained his health and the fighting textile workers had the pleasure of seeing him in their midst again before the strike was over.

The strikers won. There was no official settlement between the Union and the mills, but the mills acceded to the demands of the workers when they announced a reduction in the working week from 54 hours to 48 and a wage increase of 15 per cent. It was only then that the strikers agreed to return to work. They returned on the 19th of May.

The striking textile workers had applied to us for a charter. The General Executive Board members were of the opinion that under the circumstances a separate organization would serve the interests of the textile workers best. A convention was held in New York on April 12 and the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America was organized. It has been steadily progressing and organizing the industry. We have given the new organization liberal assistance.

We received the following expression of appreciation from the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America:

"The textile workers of Lawrence, members of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, through the Central Council of their Lawrence Local, wish to express their appreciation for the support and aid which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America gave to them during their recent sixteen weeks' strike and their struggle for the industrial organization of the textile workers.

"We realize that our victory was greatly aided by the inspiration, advice and encouragement of your representatives in Lawrence, by the financial and moral support given, especially by the efforts of comrades such as August Bellanca of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who worked so untiringly for the creation of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America.

"Rejoicing in the strength which our new Union has already attained in the textile field, we look forward to the time when we shall constitute One Big Industrial Union of the Textile and Clothing Workers."

#### OUR HELPING HAND TO THE STEEL WORKERS

September 22, the country was startled by a strike of the steel workers. Three hundred and fifty thousand workers laid down their tools and brought the great industry to a standstill. The enemies of labor flew into the wildest rage against the organized workers. They had been confident that when the steel workers' organization was crushed in 1892 it was crushed for all time to come. They learned their error. The steel workers were kept down for a generation but the stimulating effect of the war revived them. Twenty-four Internationals of the American Federation of Labor, organized on craft lines, agreed to co-operate in that great struggle. That was a new departure for the American Labor Movement. That was epoch making. The exploiters of labor cursed the steel strikers; the men and women of labor sent them their blessings.

The strike was conducted under the leadership of John Fitzpatrick, Chairman, and William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Committee for the Organization of the Steel Workers. It is impossible to give here a description of that strike, one of the most interesting and instructive in the history of the American Labor Movement. It is to be hoped that the full story of that strike will be written for the enlightenment of the present and future generations of workers.

At the beginning of the strike the officials were informed by us that we stood ready to give financial assistance whenever that was needed.

The latter part of October Brother Foster conferred about this matter with the General Officers at the International Headquarters. The following call for aid was then sent to our local organizations:

New York, Oct. 29, 1919.

To the Joint Boards, District Councils and Local Unions of the A. C. W. of A.,

Greetings:-

The greatest event in this country, at the time of this writing, is the strike of about three hundred and fifty thousand steel workers.

Their once powerful organization was crushed during the Homestead strike in 1892. The workers lost all their rights. They were reduced to a state of industrial serfdom with none of the advantages of the serfs of former days. All efforts to raise the steel workers from the beast of burden status to some degree of civilization were frustrated by the all powerful Trust with its army of spies, provocateurs, gunmen, etc. It seemed as if there were no hope for the steel workers. But the new spirit of labor organization, which had now gripped the souls of the toiling masses everywhere, has brought a new consciousness to the steel slaves. They have defied the overwhelming power of the steel lords, their king and their armed forces. They have risen and organized, and are now bravely battling for their rights.

Three hundred and fifty thousand men, drafted from all parts of the world into the American steel industry, speaking many different tongues, worshipping in many different ways, have united into one human brotherhood for one sacred aim—the attainment of human rights. It is a visualization of the struggle of the people against tyranny across the ages.

Yet, what these steel slaves are shedding their blood for is what we already have in our industry, and many other workers have in other industries. All the powers

that be, economic, political and physical, are arrayed against the rebelling steel slaves. Our brothers will win if we stand by them. They will lose by sheer physical exhaustion if we abandon them to their own fate.

They, the rightless, hopeless and spiritless slaves of yesterday, who were unable to build a powerful organization, have a claim upon us, their more fortunate comrades. It was not due to our wisdom, or their unwisdom, that capital was not as powerful in our industry as it was in theirs to keep us from organizing and securing control of working conditions, as it kept them. We have organized. We have a voice in our industry. We have secured great improvements for ourselves which brought more light, joy and happiness into our lives. We must use these great advantages to assist others of our class to get our their feet. We must. Unless we do that we will prove ourselves unworthy of enjoying the happiness that our organization has brought us.

The consciousness of the organized clothing workers helping by their organized power the struggling steel workers attain their goal should make our giving of help to them a great joy. Large sums of money from us will mean to the steel workers more than gold. Every dollar will be a living message of hope and inspiration from a large and successful body of organized workers to our battling comrades, a message that will bring the vision of triumph to them.

Liberal financial assistance by us to the steel workers will also mean the creation of a bond between us and them that will be of the kind that the working class needs for its ultimate triumph.

This is our turn to help the steel workers. Who can tell but the steel workers might have their turn to help us. If we help them now they will have the inspiration and the power to help us if that should become necessary. This is the reciprocity of working class solidarity.

Brother Wm. Z. Foster, one of the leaders of the steel workers' strike, conferred with your General Officers and the General Executive Board members, at our International headquarters, Oct. 25, on the matter of financial assistance. The same day he addressed a joint meeting of the New York Joint Board and the Executive Boards of the New York locals. That meeting unanimously voted to donate for the steel strikers two hours' work—that is, two hours' pay which the union permits to earn, wherever possible, by working two hours above the forty-four hour limit.

The General Officers and the General Executive Board members have decided to recommend similar action to all of our local unions.

Accordingly, we ask you to donate at least two hours' pay to the striking steel workers. You may arrange, like New York, for the members to work additional two hours in some week, or, if that is not feasible, assess the member two dollars each.

Quick action is imperative. A strike of 350,000 hitherto unorganized workers, in the steel industry at that, is no child's play. We are confident that our members will pay their assessments enthusiastically. If the organized workers do not sustain the steel strikers who would!

Let us give the great body of steel workers the benefit of our organized strength. Send all contributions to the undersigned.

Act at once!

Long live the working class solidarity that knows no divisions of craft, industry, race or color!

Yours for working class emancipation.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,

General Secretary,

The response of the membership may be judged by the fact that while the call was sent out October 29, on November 8—only ten days later—our check for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS was handed to the steel strikers at a memorable massmeeting held on that date at Madison Square Garden, when addresses were made by President Hillman, Fitzpatrick, Foster, Cannon, and others.

Washington, D. C., NOV 13'19
N FEDERATION OF LABOR
amated blocking bookers of america, Union, No. ———————————————————————————————————
udsed Thousand Dollars,
workers in the Steel Industry in accordance with the appeal issued by the Executive Council, eccived and to whom forwarded will be mailed to each contributor at the conclusion of the workers mixtures. Fraternally yours,
Frank Morrison Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

Receipt of the American Federation of Labor to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for their Contribution to the Steel Strikers.

The sentiments represented by our contribution were expressed in the following personal word by the General Secretary in ADVANCE of November 14, 1919:

It is not my habit to inflict my personal sentiments upon the readers of this paper. I speak to them each week through these columns for the organization as a collective body, and have never deviated from this rule. Today I am yielding to a human weakness, which seems to me excusable under the circumstances, even if not justifiable, and am substituting the personal pronoun "I" for the more important and authoritative impersonal editorial "we." The occasion for it is the history making episode at Madison Square Garden last Saturday night, the presentation by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America of a check for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS for the striking steel workers.

It was my privilege to hand that unique document to the representatives of the struggling steel workers at the Madison Square Garden meeting. A speech was out of place at that moment. Firstly, because money, not words, was called for; secondly, because the size of the contribution was the most powerful speech possible; its effect would only be diminished by an oral speech, however eloquent.

While it electrified the audience, who rose to their feet in a most enthusiastic demonstration, it thrilled my entire being, heart and soul, beyond any description. To me that was a sacred moment. I shall not attempt to describe the stirrings of my soul. I shall only briefly state the thoughts that crowded my mind at that moment.

I have been in the Labor Movement for thirty years. It is often hard for me to realize that I ever was, even in my infancy, outside of the Labor Movement. I was never conscious of any personal ambition except usefulness to the working class in its struggle for emancipation. To this struggle I dedicated my life. For many years I had nothing but abuse, slander and discouragement to show for my work, particularly during the period when I was almost alone as a speaker and writer for Industrial Unionism in my own section of the Labor Movement. I was sustained only by my abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of the working class.

The material and spiritual success of the Amalgamated was made possible by the pioneering work of former years. The breaking of the ground was so exasperating a task that it frequently seemed hopeless. But we did break the ground, and we planted the seed, and we patiently waited for it to take root, and in the Amalgamated of today I behold the beautiful fruit resulting from it. My work in the Amalgamated today is a link in the unbroken chain of my work in the Labor Movement for a generation for the same working class program. But today the New Social Order is already visible.

When I arose in Madison Square Garden to hand the Amalgamated's donation to the steel strikers, I was overwhelmed by the consciousness that I, who had for a quarter of a century been opposed and blocked and abused in all my efforts to carry the message of working class unionism to the workers, am, along with my esteemed colleagues, at the head of a great and powerful organization of workers; so great and so powerful, and imbued with such a wonderful spirit of working class solidarity as to have THE WILL AND THE POWER to give at one time one hundred thousand dollars for the assistance of workers whom we never met, who are not in our industry, whose languages we don't speak, who don't know us and probably never heard of us. Moreover, the giving of such a vast sum of money as a donation to the American Federation of Labor means paying liberally with bread for the stones that were so freely thrown at us. After all of my personal experiences in the Labor Movement I have lived to see the Organization, whose power I have helped to build, make the greatest single financial contribution to the class struggle of all times and in any part of the world.

Such were the thoughts which thrilled me while I was handing the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLAR CHECK to Joseph Cannon. I was unable to give expression to them then. I am sure the readers will pardon my doing so now.

If it were only for that one moment, it amply repaid for the decades of agony and discouragement.

The amazing progress, success and victories of the hopeless, helpless and downtrodden clothing workers of a few years ago are abundant proofs of the final triumph of the awakening toilers.

I have been with the clothing workers through a generation in all of their efforts to organize. As late as 1913 they were literally begging alms to sustain them in their desperate struggle against slavery. Think of these workers, only six years later, giving ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AS ONE SINGLE CONTRIBUTION to striking fellow workers in another industry.

Having lived to see that, my reward is exceeding all expectation. I am grateful from the innermost depths of my soul.

Who can judge the spiritual wealth still hidden in Organized Labor? We can unlock it only with the sacred key of working class enlightenment.

## The following letter accompanied our check for the steel strikers:

Mr. Frank Morrison,

Secretary, American Federation of Labor,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

It is with a feeling of great joy that I am now handing you a check for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$100,000), from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for the striking steel workers. This joy is not only my own. It is that of all of our 150,000 members.

We are happy to see that the steel slaves, whose powerful organization was crushed in 1892, have, after a generation of silent sufferings, risen to assert their

rights. The presence of troops in the steel districts, the brutal effort of the state and local administrations to break the strike, and the ruthless conspiracy of the capitalist press to deceive the American public as to the true situation, attest to the effectiveness of the steel slaves' revolt against industrial autocracy.

THE STEEL STRIKERS HAVE A JUST CLAIM UPON THE LABOR MOVEMENT FOR ITS FULLEST MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

W are happy to be able to help them. We understand the steel workers well. It was but a few years ago that we were as helpless as they. Our efforts to organize, secure our rights and improve our conditions, were frustrated by enemies of various descriptions. But we fought on in the teeth of all opposition, persecution and conspiracies. We fought singlehanded. We were thrown to the ground and we rose again and fought on. We bled and struggled and suffered and—won. It was our good fortune to lead the American Labor Movement, on the day that the Armistice was signed, in November, 1918, in the great and successful struggle for the forty-four-hour week. Now that we have heard the call of the striking steel workers for assistance we have responded with our whole heart.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is big, strong, powerful, and controls working conditions in the clothing industry. There is hardly a place of any consequence in the United States or Canada where clothing is made today with the working conditions uncontrolled by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. We are at all times ready to give the militant labor movement the benefit of our great power.

It is our hope to raise among our membership a quarter of a million dollars for the struggling steel workers. You will agree with me that it is a great pleasure to hand you now ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS as our first payment. We are happy to be able to give expression in that manner to our solidarity for the struggling steel workers. With this check for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS we send the brave fighters our message of hope, the blessings of 150,000 emancipated souls, and our sincerest wishes for a speedy victory.

May the steel workers' organization meet with the wonderful success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and may those workers in the near future be able to lend such support in the Class Struggle to other bodies of workers as we are giving them today.

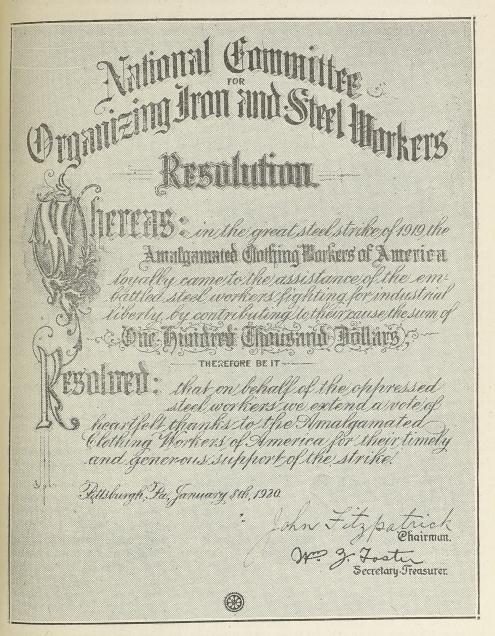
Yours for a militant and powerful movement for the emancipation of the Working Class from Capitalistic misrule.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
General Secretary,
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

We have done our duty to the steel strikers. Our financial contribution fed twenty thousand families for a week; it helped to sustain the great army for nearly four months on the firing line; it helped them to go back to the mills with their heads erect and Union cards in their pockets and their souls, and it created a new high record for mutual aid in the Labor Movement.

In the month of October, 1919, upon the request of the National Committee for organizing the Iron and Steel Workers, we loaned to the Committee the services of our General Organizer, Anton Johannsen of Chicago. He did yeoman work touring the country and raising large amounts of money for the strikers, outside of our own contribution. We paid, of course, his salary and all expenses.

The strike closed Jauary 8, 1920. The National Committee presented to us an engrossed Resolution of Thanks.



## THE IMPARTIAL CHAIRMEN AND LABOR MANAGERS

Our relations with the employers are regulated by what is popularly known as a collective bargaining machinery under the guidance of Im-

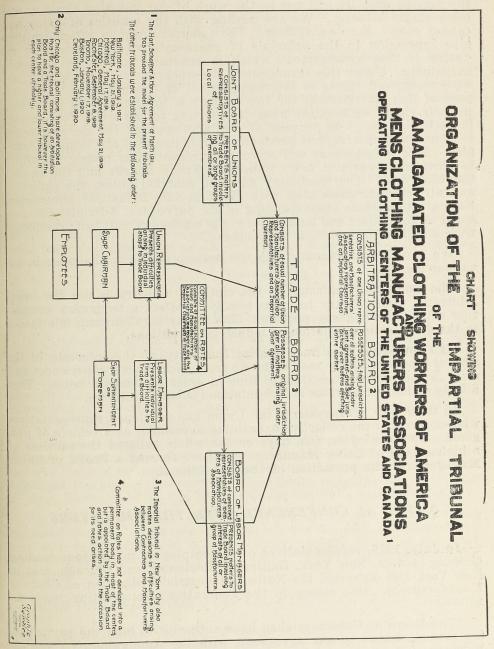
partial Chairmen. This is but another name for representative government in industry. In our industry it had its beginnings at the factories of Hart, Schaffner and Marx in Chicago. As we were extending the influence of our organization we were also extending this industrial government. There is not a clothing market in the United States and Canada today without it. It was impossible without the Amalgamated; it is unavoidable with it.

The industrial government is still new in the clothing industry but it has already and definitely passed its experimental stage. It is misunderstood by some and maliciously attacked by others, by those who prefer unbridled misrule over the workers to law and order. These latter understand and accept the decision of the sword only.

The relations between employers and workers are not immutable. Throughout human history they have changed and passed through various stages from outright slave labor to the present wage system. Each historic change has raised the status of the workers to a higher level. The satisfaction or dissatisfaction with conditions by the workers have, in each social stage, had a direct relationship to the generally prevailing conditions in society. What was accepted as proper at an earlier period was rejected as improper at a later period. The steady advance of society as a whole is compelling the workers, consciously or unconsciously, to strive to raise their own status in the scheme of society. The wage workers are perhaps more dissatisfied with their relative conditions today than were the chattel slaves in their day. It is impossible to have political democracy, which is only a reflex of economic conditions, without stimulating among the workers the desire and demand for industrial democracy. In the light of the history of social progress it must be recognized that the present employeremployee relations are not final. There will be further changes until the workers' hope of emancipation from the wage status is realized. Those changes may be opposed and forced into undesirable channels, or they may be allowed to flow naturally and freely along the path of peace, but they cannot be checked. Nor can they be prematurely forced into ripeness. The guiding of this development along the road of modern civilization is the immediate task of the industrial organization of the workers. Our responsibilities dictate to us the double mission of securing for ourselves democracy in industry while keeping the wheels of industry in uninterrupted motion.

When we, the workers of the clothing industry, organized ourselves with sufficient strength to give articulation to our grievances, we informed the employers that we insist on representative government, on a civilized method for the regulation of industrial relations. It meant a complete reversal of the method and system of the past, which were no method and no system; which were tyranny and chaos. It meant a radical change; some would call it a revolution. It would have been

against all laws of nature to expect all employers immediately to see and appreciate the great social benefits of the change and accept it without opposition. Privilege has never yielded willingly. We were



compelled to prove the justice and usefulness of our position by fighting for it. Now that we have won, our position is accepted. How is this vindication of our position to be translated into action?

When that industrial system is reached under which the workers are their own employers it will be the product of the same evolution that has sent previous social systems to the scrap heap and brought about the present one. It will not be the work of our industry alone or any other single industry. We are dealing with the realities of today and cannot evolve our own system. The concrete form in which we may give expression to the principle of representative government in industry is that arrangement which is generally known as collective bargaining. Under this arrangement the workers, for the first time, act with recognized rights in the management of the industry. pose of this arrangement for the workers is to afford them protection in their rights without the need of resorting to the strike for decision in each dispute. The purpose of this arrangement for the employers is to insure uninterrupted production while disputes are being adjudicated. This arrangement will serve no purpose unless proper machinery is provided to carry it out. Hence the Trade Boards and the Impartial Chairmen. The machinery will not function unless the chairmen and all who are associated with them in this industrial government have a sympathetic understanding of its purposes. Administered in a spirit of formalism and bureaucracy, the machinery will fail; conducted with a high social spirit, it will succeed.

We have been fortunate with the personnel of the chairmen in the various markets.

The Impartial Chairman in the clothing industry is not the usual arbitrator who may try to guess blindly or effect a temporary conciliation without solving any problem. The Impartial Chairman is a leader in the democratic regulation of industrial conditions.

The Impartial Chairmen realize the unity of the interests in the several markets. They seek to profit from each other's experiences and meet in conference from time to time in order to compare notes. Thus a body of industrial rules and regulations is being built up.

In these new arrangements the Union has developed representatives who understand the collective bargaining agreement as a vehicle of progress. The employers, too, have on the whole enlisted the services of a higher type of Labor Managers, who have formed a Board of Labor Managers for the promotion of their usefulness.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE WITH THE EMPLOYERS

In July, 1919, representatives of the employers in the four leading clothing centers, New York, Baltimore, Rochester and Chicago, met in New York and organized the National Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers. One clause in the Federation's constitution reads as follows:

"The Board of Governors shall have authority to bind the participating manufacturers to any agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and to make rules and regulations governing the industrial relations between management and workers. It shall be responsible for establishing an industrial government with all necessary

organization of administrative, judicial and legislative functions to stabilize wages, hours, standards of efficiency and all conditions of employment."

At the meeting of the General Executive Board, held in Rochester, September, 1919, the following letter was read:

Chicago, August 28, 1919.

My dear Mr. Hillman:-

I have been authorized by the Board of Governors and Board of Labor Managers of the National Industrial Federation of Clothing Manufacturers to lay the following proposal before you: That a Joint Council representing the manufacturers and your organization be convened not later than September 15 for the purpose of agreeing, if possible, upon the wages, rates, and conditions incidental thereto, which shall prevail during the light weight season next ensuing. It is proposed that each party shall have equal representation in this conference. In the event of disagreement or failure to agree by October 1st, the matter under discussion will naturally refer back to each market to be disposed of according to the terms of their various agreements.

I have been requested to urge you to give as early a reply to this proposal as you can in order that preliminary preparation may begin for this conference. Inasmuch as this is the first conference of the sort of national scope, and because the time is so limited, you will agree that it will be wise for us to have as much information concerning wage conditions in the different markets as possible.

Yours sincerely,

EARL DEAN HOWARD.

The proposition contained in the above letter was accepted.

On September 4, the General Executive Board was asked to meet with the Board of Governors and the Board of Labor Managers in an informal conference, which was of a get together character, at the Hotel Rochester in Rochester. All Board members attended and also other officials of our organization who were then with the General Executive Board. President Hillman and Secretary Schlossberg were the spokesmen for the organization.

Conferences with the Federation were held later in accordance with the above letter. No general agreement in the matter of wages having been reached at those conferences, that matter reverted back to the individual markets. In due time adjustments were reached providing for wage increases of \$5 and \$6 a week for the light weight season.

The fact that a national organization of clothing manufacturers was organized for the expressed purpose of maintaining collective relations with the organization of the clothing workers is one of the most interesting developments in the industry. It is an attestation of the great progress made.

## ONE ORGANIZATION FOR ALL CLOTHING WORKERS

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has always stood for one international organization for all the workers in what is commonly known as the Needle Trades. We are more firmly committed to this principle now than ever before, as the necessity of this type of unionism is becoming more compelling every day.

In 1914 the Journeymen Tailors' Union decided by referendum vote to amalgamate with us. A few months later another referendum vote revoked the amalgamation. We have entertained no ill feeling against the Journeymen Tailors' Union because of that. We realized that the pressure brought to bear upon the Journeymen members was too powerful for them to withstand. We have given assistance to the members of that organization whenever there was occasion for it, particularly in New York and Philadelphia. We have done so purely as a matter of class solidarity and without any consideration of reciprocity.

Recently a new movement for amalgamation with us has developed among the Journeymen Tailors' Union membership. The following resolution was adopted by Local 390 of the Journeymen, endorsed by their General Executive Board, and forwarded to us:

## AMALGAMATION OF J. T. U. OF A., AND CLOTHING WORKERS RESOLUTION BY LOCAL UNION NO. 390

Whereas, Industrial developments are assuming a state of affairs unbearable to the wage workers in their economic struggle against the constant encroachment of the selfishment and predatory employing and moneyed interests; and

Whereas, The recognized representatives of the employing interests at their recent conference in Washington have absolutely denied the fundamental right to the workers to bargain collectively, and by their action have so informed the people of this country that workers have no right to organize to withstand the absolute power of capital; and

Whereas, In our own struggle with the Merchant Tailors' Association for the abolilion of the most vicious practices in our trade, and after repeated attempts on the part of our organization to get a hearing before the association met with rebuff, and since the strike the Governor of New York has invited both parties involved in the dispute to submit their grievances before his appointed Labor Board with the object in view of bringing about some understanding between the parties concerned; and

Whereas, After the Association refused to respond to the Governor's call, was made to appear by means of being subpoenaed, and upon their appearance before the board, absolutely refused to submit to an investigation of the facts of the case involved; and

Whereas, The Merchant Tailors' Association not only of New York but of the country over are determined to keep the workers at a system of production whereby it necessitates long hours and low wages. The Merchant Tailors of New York have made up their minds that by means of starvation they can force the Journeymen Tailors back into the old condition of tenement sweat-shops; and

Whereas, This attitude of the Merchant Tailors is part of a nation-wide movement on the part of the employers' association as indicated by the Washington conference to exterminate the organization of workers and make them subject slaves dependent and at the sole disposition of arrogant, selfish and arbitrary power of the employers; and

Whereas, It has been proven time and again that a single craft within an industry is powerless to combat the combined economic and industrial power of the employing class; and

Whereas, At this time the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America is engaged in a nation-wide campaign to do away with the long standing abuses prevalent in our trade, and in order for us to gain our rights as workers as to wages and hours, and the abolition of piece work and kitchen and bedroom tailoring, we must have the aid and co-operation of the other men's clothing organization.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by Local 390, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, at the regular Monday night meeting assembled at the Bohemian Hall, that

we urge upon our General Executive Board to submit immediately to our membership the question of affiliation or amalgamation of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America nationally, with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at their next meeting of the General Executive Board, Sunday, November 2nd, 1919; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the General Secretary be instructed to get in touch with the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to call a conference at the earliest date of all the men's clothing organizations within or without the federation, with the object in view of bringing about an affiliation or amalgamation of the various organizations; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that between the time of submitting the question of federation or amalgamation to our general membership, and to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and final action that our General Secretary ask the General Officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to have their respective locals in the cities where we have strikes to admit our good standing members into their shops without having to pay initiation fees, or made members of their organizations as individuals during the emergency period of our strikes.

Respectfully submitted,

LOCAL UNION 390, J. T. U. of A.

\* \* \*

The above resolution was adopted by the General Executive Board of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, November 2, 1919.

THOMAS SWEENEY,
General Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., November 11, 1919.

There have been no further developments so far.

The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America have definitely put themselves on record in favor of one organization for the workers in the needle trades.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is now meeting in convention at Chicago, has before it a proposition from its General Executive Board for the formation of an alliance or federation of all the organizations in the needle trades. That does not go as far as we wish. Our ideal is one organization for all branches of men's and women's wear in the same sense as the Amalgamated is one organization for the workers in all branches of men's clothing. We do not, of course, presume to impose our views upon others. If the proposition for a federation of needle trades' organizations means a step in the direction of our goal it is encouraging and to that extent a victory for the principle of one international organization. The most hopeful element in this situation is the fact that the organizations which may be affected have always been and are today in most friendly relations. There are strong fraternal bonds between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Fur Workers' Union, Cap Makers' Union, Amalgamated Textile Workers and our organization. No one will hail the progress towards one organization with greater joy than the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

## WORLD ORGANIZATION OF CLOTHING WORKERS

On December 11, 12 and 13, 1919, an international conference of clothing workers was held at Amsterdam, Holland. The following countries were represented: France, Belgium, England, Germany,

Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, the United States and Canada. The representative from this country was Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Another conference will be held next August at Copenhagen, to which all tailor organizations of the world will be asked to send delegates.

The Clothing Workers' International has been in existence for a number of years. The last call for a Congress was issued in 1914, but it was not held because of the war. Our organization did not come to life until the end of 1914, and our industry was therefore not represented in the world body. Our sister organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was affiliated with it before the war, and it was asked to attend the meeting at Amsterdam, which was an attempt to reestablish the working class solidarity destroyed by the war.

The following message was cabled by the General Office to the Amsterdam Conference:

"Hearty greetings. May your deliberations promote inter-

national labor solidarity.

"Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, over one hundred and fifty thousand strong."

The existence of the clothing workers' world organization was not felt, and almost unknown, in this country. That was so, because the workers in the needle trades were hardly organized. With strong labor organizations in the men's and women's apparel industries today, a live Tailors' International will be of great moral and material value.

The material advantages may be many. One of the primary and most essential functions of the world body will be to serve as a clearing house for information. A prospective emigrant will not have to jump blindly when he leaves his own country in search of a job in another. The branch of the international organization in his own country will supply him with the information he may need to guide him with reference to working conditions, prospects of securing employment, etc., in the country he desires to migrate to.

The development of the modern means of transportation and communication has been a great space destroyer and has served to bring distant nations close to one another. The recent war has drawn them together still closer. Whatever the misrulers of the world may do to keep alive the flames of national and racial animosities, the peoples of the world are inevitably coming to a realization of their common brotherhood. The international labor bodies are the natural bonds that are tying the several peoples of the world into one united family, as they always should have been.

The international consciousness and the world mind are stronger now than they ever were and are steadily growing. Under these conditions the world-organization of the workers is inevitable.

## AMALGAMATED TEMPLES

A new tendency that is rapidly developing among our local organizations is a source of great pleasure. That is the movement for *Amalga*-

mated Temples. It is a combination of the practical with the ideal. The housing problem is constantly growing more menacing. Our local organizations are large and they find that suitable quarters are difficult to secure and exceedingly expensive. Also, owners frequently discrimmate against labor organizations. They can easily do só now because the demand for quarters is greater than the supply. We must have our own homes in order to be sure of having any home at all.

But there is also the spiritual element. We want our own home because it will be *OUR OWN*. And we want it to be a place for the transaction of the Union's business as well as for the spiritual advancement and intellectual development of the membership. A true Temple of Labor, an Amalgamated Temple. A number of local organizations are now raising funds for such Amalgamated Temples. The funds are raised either by the payment of a day's wages or the first week's wage increase when such an increase is secured, or by a special assessment. In New York, ground has been bought in a most desirable location. When completed the Temple will cost over a million dollars. In Chicago, the organization is about to purchase a place. Progress is also being made in other cities. The Amalgamated Temples should be a powerful agency for the promotion of our great cause.

#### THE ROCHESTER TRIAL

The suit brought against our organization by the firm of Michaels, Stern & Co., of Rochester, for a permanent injunction and \$100,000 damages, mentioned above, came to trial last month before Judge Rodenbeck. The testimony began April 12 and ended May 3. President Hillman was the principal witness for the Amalgamated. The case is not yet closed and we are unable to include a full account of it in this report. We have engaged leading counsel and have done all that possibly could be done to conduct the case in a manner that will be of benefit to the Labor Movement generally. A large staff of experts have organized data of immense value. Some of the information collected is included in this report among the appendices. This and a great deal more will be published later and made accessible to those who are interested in our work.

The defence was conducted by the law firm of O'Brien & Powell, of Rochester, and the following counsel: Felix Frankfurter, Emory R. Buck-

ner, Gerard C. Henderson, Robert Szold and Max Lowenthal.

Prof. Felix Frankfurter rendered a great public service to the clothing industry when he brought about the conference in January, 1919, to end the lockout in New York. He was associated with Prof. William Z. Ripley and Mr. Louis Marshall on the Advisory Board which succeeded in effecting a settlement. Prof. Frankfurter's connection with our defence in the Rochester court is explained by the following correspondence. On March 29, 1920, President Hillman wrote to Prof. Frankfurter:

"As you suggested, we are preparing for the benefit of the court, a statement of the economic and other pertinent facts relating to the men's and boys' clothing industry and to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which will be pertinent to the case of Michaels v. Hillman.

"In view of your participation in governmental and other public work for the betterment of industrial relations in this country, we should be glad to accept your leadership for the application to this controversy of the appropriate principles in industrial relations. The Amalgamated

Clothing Workers of America are eager to have peace in the entire industry upon a proper basis and are anxious that the dispute now pending in Rochester shall be settled in such a way as to establish and promote industrial peace in that plant and, indirectly, elsewhere.

"Viewing this as we do from the standpoint of the maintenance and promotion of proper industrial principles, we feel justified in asking you to come into this case and to direct it in the public interest. Will you

be good enough to let us hear from you."

To which Prof. Frankfurter promptly replied:

"I am very deeply interested in the establishment of sound legal principles in the disposition of labor litigation, primarily as a scientific student of the law and of our legal institutions. I believe our flexible legal system is capable of safeguarding the public interest in this difficult field and avoiding, even unconsciously, the appearance and results of partisanship

for either side of an economic or industrial controversy.

"Particularly in the State of New York have the courts ennumerated sound legal principles in labor cases. The problem here as elsewhere is largely a question of the application of sound principles, and of procedure in its deeper meaning. The Courts should have the benefits of all the relevant facts, the ramifications of the industrial factors before the issues that must be decided, as "purposes" and "justification" can be justly decided.

"The vindication of the rule of law, and of the efficiency of our courts as instruments of even-handed law, seems to me to be of great public interest. They are matters peculiarly the concern of teachers of the law. I shall, therefore, be very glad, in the discharge of what I conceive to be a public duty and not under any professional retainer, to take part in the case of Michaels v. Hillman so as to help vindicate views that make for industrial peace and enforce the public's interest in true law and order."

Our case is of vital interest to all organized labor.

## CONCLUSION

This report is lengthy but our manifold and fruitful activities for the past twenty-four months contain sufficient material for a much longer report. We have done for the workers in the industry all that could possibly be done by hard and conscientious work. We have carried our banner in triumph from one end of the industry to the other. We have made it possible to work and live in the clothing industry.

In the course of the sessions of the Convention we shall submit recom-

mendations with regard to our future work.

Accompanying this report are charts showing the structure of our organization, the progress made by us with respect to wages and hours,

and several very informative tables.

Our activities have not been limited to our own organization. With an open heart and a free hand we have given moral and financial assistance in many directions. We have already reported above the liberal help given by us to fellow workers in other industries.

We have also participated in the struggles in the political and edu-

cational fields.

The crime of Albany aroused our members to action. Many of them were among the constituents of the five Socialist assemblymen who were

expelled from the legislature because of their political principles. We lent our support to the movement to defend the political rights of the workers. To us it was not only the expulsion of workingmen's representatives from the State Assembly; it was an attempt to deprive the Labor Movement of the opportunity to solve social problems by political action. In short, it was an attempt to force the Labor Movement beyond the pale of the law. In the long run there can be no successful industrial Labor Movement if the workers lose their political rights.

We have also joined hands with all forces of progress against those of reaction in the opposition to legislation by the New York legislature making the people's education illegal. The bills were passed by the legislature, but at the time of this writing there is hope that the Governor will yet them.

The movement for amnesty for political and industrial prisoners received our aid.

We have contributed towards relief for the war sufferers and many other noble causes.

The benefits of our success we have given unhesitatingly to our fellow men.

To our numerous friends we express our deepest gratitude for whatever help and encouragement they have given us in our many struggles. We know that it is their wish, as well as ours, that we continue upon our path of progress.

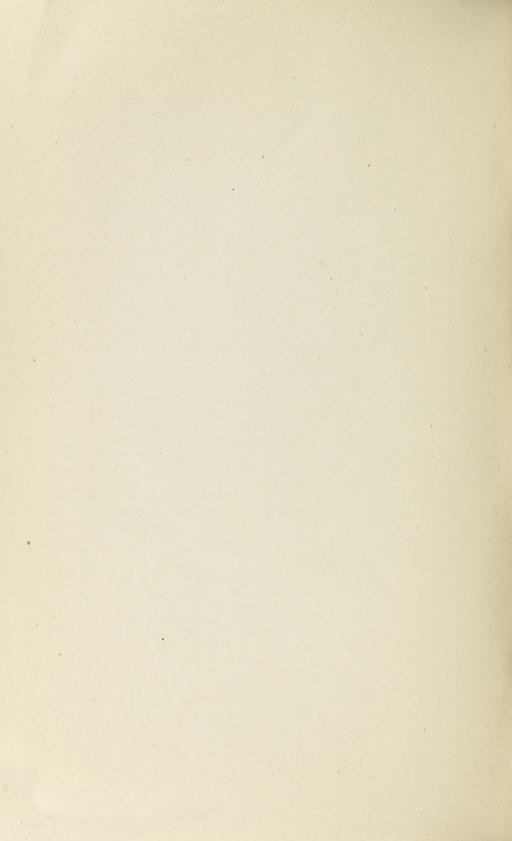
We close the account of our work since the last Convention with the fervent prayer for like success for the entire American Labor Movement.

We have made good!

#### GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary,
AUGUST BELLANCA,
HYMAN BLUMBERG,
ALEX COHEN,
SAMUEL LEVIN,
LAZARUS MARCOVITZ,
A. D. MARIMPIETRI,
FRANK ROSENBLUM.



#### APPENDIX I.

#### REPORT ON THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

## By James P. Warbasse President Co-operative League of America

Labor should go into the Co-operative Movement. While the Trade Union can help the worker to get better wages and improve conditions in the shop, the Co-operative Movement is the necessary means whereby the worker may get control of the prices he must pay for what he buys.

Another important benefit in Co-operation is that it trains the workers to carry on industries themselves in their own interest. Through their Co-operative societies the workers in all parts of the world are learning to conduct every sort of enterprise. The thousands of co-operative stores—the distributive centers—show that it is possible for the workers to supply themselves with the things they need without paying tribute to private greed.

The vast areas of grain lands, the farms, the vineyards, the coal mines, and the groves of fruit-bearing trees, owned and administered by co-operative societies who consume their products, testify that private profit need not be the purpose of industry. The great flour mills, the splendid factories which produce all that human beings need, the steamship lines which convey these commodities, owned and administered for purposes of service and not for profit, are witnesses to the ability of the workers to organize as consumers for their mutual benefit.

The insurance, the banking, the housing, the pensions, the medical care, the schools, the libraries, and the social centers—owned and carried on by the people themselves—proclaim the ability of the workers to free them-

selves from the exploitation of these necessities.

In these industries the workers are fixing standards for wages and conditions of labor. They are also fixing prices. At the same time that the workers are enjoying the immediate benefits of all of these enterprises they are training themselves for the time when they shall administer all

industry.

Shall co-operative societies be a part of the Trade Unions or independent? Experience teaches that membership in co-operative societies should be free and voluntary. No worker should be compelled to be a member. The Trade Union as an organization should be the worker's weapon to protect him as a producer; the co-operative society should be the worker's weapon to protect him as a consumer. The personnel of the two may be the same; but the organization and administration should be separate and distinct, as their functions are separate and distinct.

Co-operative banking is a field into which the labor movement should move as quickly as possible. The banking business of the United States is in the hands of a money trust which is opposed to the working class. Workers who save money and put it in a bank, at once set their money working against themselves. The bank sends the money to Wall Street,

where it is used by the capitalists to defeat the interests of the workers. When a workingman puts a dollar in a savings-bank, the next time he meets his dollar may be when it appears in the form of hire for a scab to break his strike. The workers should recognize the antagonism of the big money interests. They should meet the problem by organizing their own

co-operative banks.

The banking business is no great mystery. The people can co-operatively keep their money and use it in their own interest, and not find it a difficult thing to do. Bankers have made it seem difficult and complicated. Banking is only difficult and complicated when it is conducted for the purpose of getting the better of somebody else. When conducted purely in the interest of those people whose money it is handling it is most simple. When people co-operatively become their own bankers, receive their own money and employ it for their common good, banking becomes purified as well as simplified.

In the European countries co-operative banks are conducted both as separate institutions and in combination with co-operative societies which carry on other functions. These people's banks are becoming towers of strength to the workers. We here in the United States should make bank-

ing a tower of strength to us.

Where the workers have co-operative stores these may become labor's commissaries in time of need. In the event of a strike these stores have proved to be of strategic value. It has often been the want of food that has broken the strike. Many historic strikes have been won through the

aid which has come from the co-operative society.

Whether the organized workers begin their co-operative experience with stores, banks, laundries, restaurants, housing, bakeries or some other enterprise, we must bear in mind that the Co-operative Movement cannot grow any faster than co-operators can be trained. There is now danger that the organization of Co-operative societies in the United States is going ahead faster than the making of Co-operators. A group of people who do not understand Co-operation and who proceed to start a society must either develop a goodly proportion of members who catch the idea of the Movement pretty quickly or disaster threatens their efforts.

Propaganda has done its preliminary work in this country. The seeds of Co-operative enthusiasm have been sown. Everywhere societies are multiplying. The time for propaganda has passed. We now have entered upon the era of education. Any group of people, before starting a co-operative organization, should first create an educational committee to study Co-operation. By lectures, discussions, study courses and reading, they should proceed to make of themselves cultured Co-operators. They should first learn the fundamental principles. A knowledge of the history of Co-operation, its failures and its triumphs, the different forms of Co-operation, the causes of failure, the conditions for success, the methods of Co-operative administration, the possibilities of social features, the meaning of loyalty, and the vision of the larger social and economic possibilities of the Movement are necessary as the guarantees of real success. It is not merely people but Co-operators that are needed.

It is easy enough to start an organization. Anyone with a little knowledge of Co-operation can go before a group of people and persuade them to form a society. That is the easiest of tasks. The difficult thing is to

make such a society succeed after it is once started.

The interest of the Movement demands that much attention shall be given to education. Instead of driving and coaxing people into the start-

ing of a store, they should be held back while they are converting them-

selves into real Co-operators.

Everything that furthers mutual aid should be promoted for its educational value. Ethical training should be a part of our activities. The education of children in good-will is important: Children in schools should be encouraged to conduct their own Co-operative stores for the supplying of their wants and their own banks and credit societies. And all schools should give courses in Co-operation.

In the first place the magnitude of a co-operative undertaking cannot guarantee its success. It is just as easy—and easier—for a ten million-dollar venture to fail as for a ten thousand-dollar venture. All co-operative undertakings in this country that started big have failed. The New England Protective Union, the Knights of Labor, and many groups have attempted big things in Co-operation. They had the money, the people, the need, the enthusiasm and the self-sacrificing devotion, but they did not succeed. They failed because they neglected education and the necessary technical knowledge.

Co-operative societies cannot be developed any faster than people can

be trained to run them.

Labor must not make the mistake of thinking that if it has the money it can go out and hire capitalistic experts, the enemies of labor, to run its cooperative enterprises and make them succeed. Labor must train itself to do it. That is the only way.

Two kinds of training are necessary. Managers and executives must be developed. And the whole membership of the society must be educated to understand the simple meaning and methods of Co-operation. There is

no short cut. This has to be done by the slow process of education.

The Co-operative Movement has been going forward all over the face of the earth for seventy-five years. Three-quarters of a century can develop much information. Co-operation is now standardized. It is no longer guess-work. Experience is the best teacher. It has shown which methods succeed and which fail. No group of people should venture upon the perilous conflict against the old capitalistic system in business without having in hand this information.

Experience teaches that there is a wrong way and a right way to go about it. The pressing need now is for people who are trained, with

knowledge and experience, who can guide this great Movement.

Standardized information is available. If brought to societies and applied, this standardized information guarantees their success. Advisers, teachers and organizers are needed to bring this information to the people.

In order to supply the need for advisers, organizers, store managers

and teachers, a school of Co-operation should be started.

Advisers should be experienced Co-operators. They should have been store managers, organizers or teachers of Co-operative administration. They should be familiar especially with bookkeeping and accounting. They should be able to instruct store managers in these matters, and to discuss

before societies the general questions of administration.

Co-operative advisers should be established in every center where our organization has a large membership. These experts should meet with groups desiring to start societies and give the necessary instructions. They should visit established societies which are conducting economic enterprises. Such visits should be made especially to societies which are struggling with unsolved problems, societies which are violating some of the

essential principles, and societies needing advice in some specific matter. These experts should demonstrate and install a model system of bookkeeping and accounting, standardize store administration, advise store societies in matters of expansion, establishing new departments, and organizing such additional enterprises as laundries, bakeries, banks, coal yards. theaters, medical services, schools and productive plants.

We should work with other established agencies in the training of Cooperative experts. This should be done through study courses. Such a study course of six months should be given at an educational center. It can be given partly in connection with some established institution. Em-

phasis should be placed on the following subjects:

History, with especial reference to the history of Labor and the proletariat.

(b) Bookkeeping and accounting. (c) Business principles and banking.

(d) Principles of economics. History of Co-operation. (e)

Distinctions between Consumers' and Producers' Co-operation, Banking, Insurance, Housing, Recreation, Laundry, Baking, Medical Care and other fields entered by Co-operation, Practical Problems, and the Philoso-

phy and Ethics of Co-operation should be taught.

After the six months of preliminary study-course students should go to the centers in which are societies where practical training can be given. Arrangements should be made whereby a student can receive training as a Clerk in a Retail Store, Delivery Clerk, Cashier, Bookkeeper, Clerk in Bakery, Clerk in Laundry, Clerk in Wholesale, Clerk in Bank, Local Educational Director, Recreational Director, Acting Store Manager and Expert Adviser.

Supervising and carrying on the educational work should be an Educational Director located at the educational center where the preliminary

study course is given.

He should supervise the work of the Advisers. They should make their reports to him.

He should give some of the training courses, and provide for such as he does not give.

He should be a person of broad cultural understanding of the Co-opera-

tive Movement.

In starting upon the Co-operative Movement we should build soundly and upon the firm foundation of education and organization.

If such a program could be put in operation it would produce funda-

mental and lasting results.

In our educational work we should frankly understand that Co-operation aims to take industry out of private hands and place it in our hands. We should proceed upon the understanding that the purpose of Co-operation is to distribute and produce for use and not for profit, and thus to change the whole motive in industry. We should look upon it as a revolutionary movement in the economic field, and we should enter it in that spirit.

#### APPENDIX II

# REPORT ON THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT By Solon De Leon

A working class movement which is rapidly growing in size and significance in nearly every advanced industrial country is the Cooperative Movement. The object of the Cooperators is to build up, within the present, competitive, profit-seeking industrial order, a mutually owned and mutually managed system of producing and distributing goods. This new type of organization not only helps to reduce prices for its members, but, its advocates hope, will eventually supplant the present chaotic and unjust industrial system altogether.

## **Cooperative Stores**

The modern Cooperative Movement began in practically every country with the opening of small stores owned and operated by those who traded in them. The start of the present successful development of the idea was made in 1843, when twenty-eight struggling weavers in Rochdale, England, saved up \$5 apiece and launched a little grocery store on a back street. In five years their membership had grown to nearly a thousand, and their business to over \$100,000. Though subjected to cut-throat competition by private merchants, boycotts by manufacturers and even discrimination by the government, the British movement now numbers about 4,000,000 members. Counting each member as the head of a family this means that nearly a third of the population of the country is connected with the movement. The annual business of all the local stores exceeds \$1,000,000,000. In some towns, Cooperatives are the only stores to be found, private businesses having been entirely eliminated. In Switzerland, also, the Cooperatives embrace about one-third of the people, and practically control trade in the city of Basel.

Just before the war the International Cooperative movement had about 10,000,000 members, the numbers in the leading countries being as follows:

Great Britain
Germany
Russia
France
Austria-Hungary 500,000
Italy
Switzerland

Smaller groups of Cooperators existed in Norway, Sweden, Denmark,

Finland, Holland, Belgium, and the United States.

The effect of the war, which sent food prices skyward in every country and gave rise to particularly brazen examples of profiteering, drove large numbers of new people into the Cooperative movement. In Great Britain during the war the membership increased by 1,000,000, and the business nearly doubled. In Germany the membership grew in three years by more

than 400,000, despite government interference with the movement for its denunciation of the war, and trade increased by 100,000,000 marks. In Norway, in three war years, the membership leaped from 30,200 to 60,000, and the volume of business from 3,000,000 kronen to 8,000,000 kronen. From obscure beginnings in a few scattered centers the American movement sprang up to 3,000 societies doing a combined annual business of approximately \$200,000,000. The largest increase, however, was in Russia. In 1919 the Central Union of Russian Cooperatives reported 244 distinct unions or federations of Cooperative Societies, with an individual membership of over 8,800,000 persons. Each of these being the head of a household, about 36,000,000 persons receive supplies through this single organization, or 48 per cent of the total population of central Russia. To this number must be added 15,000,000 persons reached by other societies. Under the Soviet government the Russian Cooperatives are the back-bone of the present system of food distribution in that country.

The Cooperative movements of all countries are affiliated with an International Cooperative Alliance, which beginning in 1895 has held nine

congresses for the discussion of principles and methods.

Certain fundamental principles laid down by the Rochdale weavers for their epoch-making enterprise have been generally adopted as the foundation of a successful store. Briefly stated, they are:

1. Unrestricted membership, with small shares payable on instalments.

2. A limited number of shares to any one person.

3. One member one vote, regardless of number of shares held.

4. Sale of pure goods at regular market prices.

5. Cash sales.

6. Payment of not more than the legal rate of interest on shares and

on loaned capital; provision for depreciation, reserve, and educational work to spread the movement; remainder of "profits" to be returned as a dividend to members in proportion to the amount of their purchases.

#### Wholesale Societies

Many progressive workingmen have remained luke-warm toward the Cooperative movement because of the large numbers of failures which have occurred among promising stores in every country. Advocates of the cooperative principle point out in reply that most of these failures occurred before the local societies had learned to federate for economy and stability.

As early as 1860, after an earlier unsuccessful start, the Rochdale leaders brought a number of local stores together to discuss plans for a whole-sale establishment which would supply them all. After a year's struggle in Parliament, the necessary legislation was secured, and the wholesalers were free to organize. These did not benefit the large societies a great deal, but for the small stores they were a boon. They did away with the necessity of each store going separately into the wholesale market. They saved time and the need for high-salaried buyers. They guaranteed purity of goods. They obtained better bargains. They saved the middlemen's profits. They encouraged the formation of new societies. Finally, they could in time of need go to the financial assistance of any local society that was temporarily in difficulty. In fact many cooperators hold that the movement is not anywhere successful until the local stores form a federation and set up a wholesale.

Such wholesales, exercising their stabilizing and beneficial effects on the local groups, now exist in at least fifteen countries, organized in the following order:

Manchester, England	.1864
Glasgow, Scotland	
Copenhagen, Denmark	
Rotterdam, Holland	
Basel, Switzerland	
Hamburg, Germany	
Budapest, Hungary	
Antwerp, Belgium	
Paris, France	
Moscow, Russia	
Stockholm, Sweden	.1904
Helsingfors, Finland	.1905
Vienna, Austria	
Christiania, Norway	
Chicago, United States	

The remarkable progress which the American movement is now making is due in no small measure to the energy and ability of those in charge of the wholesale organization.

## Banking

Very early in the development of the Cooperative movement the members began to deposit their savings with the local society stores, which they could trust, for safekeeping. The disposal of these gradually increasing funds caused the societies considerable thought.

First the funds were invested in securities of private enterprises. This was at once recognized as poor policy for the Cooperatives as it was

strengthening the hands of the enemy.

Finally the English wholesale society, in 1872, opened a banking department. The local stores now deposited their surplus funds with the wholesale's bank, which thus found itself in possession of a large working capital. This capital was made available for loans to local societies, and for setting up new enterprises. Such a plan kept the members' money always under their own control. It did not let their savings lie idle. Most important of all, it was used for the strengthening of the Cooperative movement itself instead of flowing to the veins of private competitive industry.

Similar banks have been launched and are in successful operation in other countries where the Cooperative movement is strong. There were 22,000,000 marks on deposit with the German wholesale's bank when the war broke out. By 1917 this amount had increased to 72,000,000 marks.

Again it is in Russia that the fullest development of the Cooperative idea is found. The Moscow Narodny Bank is the Russian Cooperative's institution. It was founded in 1912 on the same basis as a private banking house, with the exception that only Cooperative societies could buy shares, make deposits, or receive credit. In 1917 the business of the bank amounted to nearly 6,000,000,000 rubles, or at present rates of exchange, about \$1,000,000,000. The institution was nominally nationalized by the Soviet government in 1918, but the old officers were left in charge, their actions being merely subject to approval by the national banking commissioners.

#### Credit Unions

Another form of cooperative undertaking, closely akin to banking, is the credit union. This is a corporation, chartered under state law, for the purpose of accumulating and investing the savings of its members and of making loans to them for provident purposes. Such institutions have since 1848 been common in Europe under the name of Raiffeisen banks or Schultze-Delitzsche credit associations. These were started by philanthropists and catered mainly to small farmers and little store-keepers.

The Cooperative credit union makes the same service and security available to wage-earners through their own efforts. The first of these unions was established in Massachusetts in 1910, and the movement has

now spread to New York, Wisconsin, Texas, and other states.

During the Seattle general strike of 1918 the trade unions of that city launched a loan association somewhat of this kind. Shares were sold only to trade unions and to Cooperative societies. As in the case of cooperative banking, the credit union turns the savings of its members away, from competitive and into Cooperative business.

## **Cooperative Production**

Local cooperative stores federate and organize a wholesale to supply them with goods. What can be more natural than that the wholesale should turn its thoughts to production in order to assure itself of a constant source of reliable commodities free from the profits of the private manufacturer. By owning and operating its own farms and factories, the Cooperative wholesale not only frees itself from the danger of extortion or refusal to sell on the part of the private capitalist, but it finds a welcome means of investment for the savings of its members accumulating in the Cooperative bank.

Probably the first noteworthy successful attempt at Cooperative production was made by the "Konsumverein" of Zurich, which in 1851 set up as a bakery. This shop is still in existence, and is one of the largest in Switzerland. During the war the Swiss Cooperatives established for themselves the biggest flour mill in the country, and also purchased

large tracts of land for agriculture.

About ten years after the Rochdale store was opened, the English and Scotch wholesales combined to buy some tea fields in Ceylon. holdings have been repeatedly added to, until in 1913 they had 3,000 acres under cultivation. About twenty years after the beginning of this venture, in 1874, the English wholesale decided to go into actual factory production for itself, and opened a cracker factory, a shoe shop, and soap works. These soap works now have tallow-collecting stations in Australia, copra stations in Fiji, and palm-oil stations in West Africa, and are large enough to withstand open competition with the private producers. In 1887 the same wholesale began to operate a woolen mill, and then opened a tailoring shop to make up the goods for its members. A little later it started a flour mill. In 1896 it took over 742 acres of land in England to raise fruits for its own jam factory, and during the war the English and Scotch wholesales together acquired 10,000 acres of wheat land in Canada. The year 1919 saw the floating by the English wholesale of \$12,500,000 in "development bonds" for the purchase and development of agricultural areas in England. These bonds were offered entirely to trade unions and local Cooperative societies. The wholesale also owns its own fleet of vessels, for bringing its supplies from foreign quarters.

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In Scotland Cooperative production began with a shirt factory in 1881. This industry was chosen for the start because of the sweated condition of its workers. In the Cooperative shop the workers were given at once a forty-eight hour week and a living wage. Other industries now operated by the Scotch wholesale include tanning, shoes, working clothing, cabinet making, preserving, flour, confectionery, tobacco, coffee essence, printing, chemicals, machine works, sausages, pickles, and tin ware. The Chancelot mill, established in 1909 by this wholesale, is the largest and

best equipped flour mill in the world.

Besides the wholesales, a number of the large local societies in England and Scotland have gone into production on their own account. Thus in Glasgow twenty or more local societies have combined to set up a bakery which is the largest and most modernly equipped in the world. It bakes bread for the local trade, and also supplies the Scotch wholesale with crackers which are distributed all over the country. Many of the local societies have also their own garden plots, hothouses, and dairy farms. Cooperative housing plans are also found in many cities, especially in Scotland, Denmark, and Germany. In many cases the members find that they pay their rent out of the dividends they receive from their cooperative store. Recently a Cooperative society of Finns has launched a success-

ful housing project in Brooklyn.

In Belgium the Cooperative movement has paid more attention to production than to the running of stores. The "Vooruit" society, founded about 1880 by Eduarde Anseele, began with a bakeshop. Instead of returning the surplus regularly to its members as dividends in proportion to the amount of their purchases, it put the surplus into an insurance fund, which protected the members in case of sickness, accident, or unemployment. Gradually other activities were added, such as People's Houses for entertainments and social life, department stores, groceries, clothing stores, shoe stores, coal yards, a brewery, and one of the largest printing plants in Belgium. In 1912 Vooruit employed 100 bakers, who turned out 110,000 loaves weekly. Just before the war there were more than 200 Cooperative centers based on the Vooruit principles scattered throughout the country.

The first producing establishment operated by a Cooperative society in the United States was a hat shop in New York, opened early in this century by a small organization known as the Cooperative League. The league now conducts some restaurants and boarding houses, and a butcher shop. The "Into" Cooperative society in Fitchburg, Mass., now has, in addition to four grocery stores, a men's furnishing shop, and a bank, its own bakery and a milk route which supplies 1,000 families daily. Especially noteworthy is the Purity Cooperative Bakery at Paterson, N. J., which has been followed by similar undertakings in Newark and in Browns-

ville, Brooklyn.

#### Education

It was early recognized that if the Cooperative movement was to grow there was need of active educational work to carry the principles to ever wider circles of workingmen. The rising English and Scotch societies held frequent conferences for this purpose, and finally in 1869 the first National Cooperative Congress was held. This Congress, which has been continued by yearly sessions to date, set on foot the British Cooperative Union, as a purely propaganda institution, leaving the wholesale federations free to conduct the actual business of production and distribution.

The Union carries on its propaganda by means of books, pamphlets and lectures; it prepares model rules and bookkeeping systems for the affiliated societies; and it maintains a parliamentary committee to look after

the interests of the movement in Parliament.

The early "Cooperative League" in the United States also devoted much of its energy to educational work. It secured the endorsement of Cooperation by the Socialist party convention in 1912, and that party has appointed a special committee to study the question and also maintains a bureau to answer inquiries in connection with it. Due mainly to the efforts of the Illinois miners, the Cooperative movement has also been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

The situation with regard to cooperative education in America is now somewhat the same as in Great Britain. In addition to the National Cooperative Wholesale Association, of which Dalton H. Clark is the president, which conducts the nation-wide business, there is the Cooperative League of America, headed by Dr. James P. Warbasse, which confines itself

to educational and propaganda work.

#### Conclusion

The Cooperative movement is worthy of the serious consideration and encouragement of this organization. Through its stores it has undoubtedly reduced living costs for millions of members and their families, amounting in some countries to a quarter or even a third of the entire population. It has successfully entered the field of production, and is now successfully in many places holding its own against competition by private corporations. It affords a means whereby the savings of the working class can be used to improve the workers' conditions and to strengthen the workers' own movements, instead of nourishing private profit-seeking industry, commerce, and finance. Finally, and most important of all, it is building up within the present competitive society an agency which may eventually serve as a powerful agency for a change into a new cooperative social order, and is developing in millions of working class members both the desire for and the training necessary for making that change.

#### APPENDIX III

Report of Dr. N. I. Stone to the Advisory Board Which Brought About The Strike for the 44-Hour Week in New York City

New York, March 3, 1919.

Messrs. Ripley, Marshall and Rosensohn, Advisory Board of the New York Clothing Industry.

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to submit herewith report on wages and earnings in the New York clothing industry, in connection with the cost of living, which I was commissioned to investigate for your Board.

Within the time limit of three weeks which was put on the investigation, its scope necessarily had to be very closely circumscribed. The investigation of an industry like the New York Clothing industry, numbering about 1500 shops and some 50,000 workers, with many complex problems confronting it, would require a much longer period of time if it was to furnish a basis for the solution of those problems. A period of three weeks is barely sufficient, as investigations of this kind are generally conducted, for getting the investigation started, organizing the force, training it for the work, and working out the schedules. It takes a longer period than that to tabulate the returns after they are brought in from the factories, to digest the material, and to write the report. It is manifest, therefore, that with only three weeks available to do all these things and to obtain the figures from the shops, many questions which interested one or the other side or both could not even be approached.

The investigation was, therefore, confined to the ascertainment of weekly rates of wages, and annual earnings of workers during the year preceding the strike of November, 1918. As the industry is composed of six distinct branches, each branch was investigated separately, as follows:

- (1) Cutting (inside shops)
- (2) Coats
- (3) Pants
- (4) Vests
- (5) Children's Jackets
- (6) Knee Pants

As it would have been impossible for me within the limited period to make a personal study of the different shops in order to select average, representative shops typical of each branch of the industry, the following method of selection was used:

## Selection of Shops for Investigation

The Association and the Union were asked to submit a list of several shops in each branch of the industry out of which two were selected

for each side for the purpose of this investigation. Assuming that each side would select shops that would make the best showing from its point of view, this would give the Board an idea of the variety of conditions prevailing within the widest range of shops in the industry with the average being somewhere between the two extremes. As a matter of fact, as will be seen from the figures submitted, the difference between the two sets of shops was not so marked as might have been expected, so that the average figures presented may be said to be fairly representative of the earnings in the different branches of the industry.

## The Investigation Staff

As it would have been impossible to select and train a force for the investigation under the limitation of time, the Association and the Union were asked to cooperate in the conduct of the investigation, each side furnishing an equal number of investigators who were sent out to the shops in pairs, each side being represented by one investigator. This insured ready compliance on the part of the contractors with the request to produce their payrolls and to submit to such questions as had to be asked. Each schedule covering a shop was signed by the two investigators who compiled the figures from the payrolls. This method, it is hoped, will obviate any questions being raised as to the reliability or accuracy of the figures secured from the payrolls.

The tabulation of the figures was done under my personal supervision and was gone over in detail with Prof. Rastell, representing the association, and Mr. Hillman for the Union. The instructions which governed the investigators, and the methods followed in the tabulation are embodied in a memorandum, copy of which is attached to the report. These facts are stated in order that the Board may be saved the time which would be consumed by going into the details of the methods of investigation so that it may be in a position to devote its undivided attention to the consideration of the facts presented in this report and of the arguments which presumably will be submitted by each side.

## Scope of the Investigation

As already stated, the investigation was confined to the ascertainment of the rates of wages and annual earnings of workers in each branch of the industry. In order to ascertain annual earnings, it was necessary to confine the attention of the investigators to workers who were employed in the shop for at least 48 weeks during the year. met with the criticism on the part of the Union that under that ruling only the wages of the workers more steadily employed were ascertained, that is to say, of workers who will show the highest earnings. The force of this criticism is admitted, that owing to the limitation of time, it would have been impossible to attempt to ascertain the earnings of those who were employed in the shops for less than 48 weeks. er, for example, who was found on the payroll of a certain shop for 8 months may or may not have found employment in other shops. Unless we had time to trace his employment outside of this shop under investigation for the remainder of the year, it would have been useless to present the earnings of such a worker for a part of the year. To meet in part the criticism of the Union, an attempt was made in each shop

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visited to ascertain the total number of workers employed during the busy season; a comparison of that number with the number of people employed during the entire year will show what proportion of the workers are employed for less than a year. It will not show, however, what their earnings are.

Another point of criticism raised by the union is that the investigation covered earnings for one year only, which happens to be the year when the rates of wages were the highest in the history of the industry, and when the unusual demand for help, owing to work on military uniforms coupled with a falling off in the supply of labor, due to the draft and the attraction of exceptionally high wages in other industries, combined to make employment more steady than ever before. Unfortunately it was impossible to extend the investigation over a period of more than one year, both because of the limitation of time, and because of the fact that the books of the contractors are kept in so poor a shape that it would have been next to impossible to secure the necessary information for any considerable number of shops. The contractors do business with a limited capital and in most cases are not in a position to employ bookkeepers to keep their records. Even in ascertaining the wages for 1918, it was necessary in some cases to go through anywhere from 5 to 20 shops in order to secure 2 shops that had a record of wages for the last year before the strike. In some cases records of wages are kept on slips of paper which are destroyed after the help is paid off. The force of the contention of the Union, however, must be admitted and should be borne in mind by the Board in drawing conclusions from the figures of annual earnings submitted in this report.

On the other hand, the employers felt that the investigation fell short of the ideal by failing to take into account the question of output and its effect upon the labor cost of production, also by refraining from a comparison of rates of wages in New York and other clothing markets, as well as of the standards of output in competing markets. It is obvious that these questions are involved in the whole problem of standardization, which is of paramount importance. The mere magnitude and importance of it, however, preclude the idea of even an attempt being made to cover them, unless the two sides are prepared to devote much time and a considerable appropriation for the necessary investigation.

## Earnings of Workers in Coat Shops (Table 1)

Table 1 presents a summary of the earnings of workers in the coat shops, classified according to their occupations. There is an extreme subdivision of labor in the industry. Operators who work at the machine do not make a whole coat, but each specializes in a single operation such as pocket making, sleeve making, lining making, etc. While the occupation of each employee was noted, it was found impractical to tabulate the wages by these fine distinctions, owing to the small number of workers covered by the investigation. Nor would that be essential in view of the fact that the question of standardization of rates according to operation is not before the Board and could not be solved by it at this time even if that were called for. The earnings are presented in the table with some degree of grouping of workers according to occupations along broader lines of demarcation, such as "operators" which in-

cludes all workers working at a sewing machine; pressers, bushelers, basters and tailors, who work mostly with the needle; miscellaneous male workers such as trimmers, fitters, etc., who use the shears and fingers in their work; finishers, fellers, buttonsewers and buttonhole makers, which include women working with the needle. The annual earnings are summarized in the table by \$100 groups, and the number of workers in each group is shown separately for the shops selected by the association and those selected by the union. As in most cases the general distribution of workers by wage groups proved to be similar in classes of shops, the average has been computed for all the shops of each branch of the industry.

Operators. Looking at Table 1, we find that operators show the largest number of workers, both in the association and union shops, in the groups between \$900 and \$1300 per annum. The average earnings of the 36 operators who were found employed throughout the year in the four shops was \$1089 per annum, which, divided by 52 weeks, shows an average weekly income throughout the year of \$21. It should be noted, however, that in the case of one shop selected by the association, there was a cessation of work for 6 weeks, due to a strike of the cutters in the inside shop supplying work to this coat shop. An examination of the earnings in the other coat shops during the same period shows that had the strike not occurred, the operators would have averaged about \$20 a week, which would have increased the weekly average for the operators about \$1 a week, making it \$22 instead of \$21 as shown in the table.

Only one female operator was found employed throughout the year in the 4 coat shops, whose earnings were \$550 during the year or an average of \$11 a week.

**Pressers.** In the case of pressers the bulk of the earnings both in the association and in union shops fall between the \$800 and \$1000 groups, the average annual earnings being \$888, or \$17 a week; making the same allowance for the 6 weeks' strike in one of the shops, would bring up the weekly average to nearly \$18 a week.

Bushelers, Basters and Tailors. In the case of this group, while the greater part of the workers, both in the association and in the union shops falls within the groups of \$800 to \$1000 per annum, giving an average wage of \$889 per annum or \$17 per week, there are more of the higher paid men in the association shops and more of the lower paid in the union shops, which would make the medium line cross the association wage groups at about \$1000 per year and at \$800 per year in the union shops. The weekly average for this group would also be raised to nearly \$18 by making allowance for the strike in one of the shops.

Miscellaneous (Trimmers, Fitters, etc.) The average wage for this group is \$767.50 per annum or \$15 per week. It should be raised to about \$15 1-2 making allowance for the strike.

Female Workers. The average earnings of the female workers including finishers, fellers, buttonsewers and buttonhole makers, are \$576.00 per annum or more than \$11 per week.

### Earnings of Workers in Vest Shops (Table 2)

*Operators.* The earnings of the 10 male operators found employed throughout the year in the four vest shops varied from more than \$700 to less than \$1300 per annum and averaged \$970 per annum or \$19 per week.

The average earnings of the 5 female operators in the same shops were \$690 per annum or \$13 per week.

Pressers. The average annual earnings of the 23 pressers were \$822 per annum or \$16 per week.

Miscellaneous (Fitters, trimmers, turners, etc.) There were only 3 full-time employees found in this group in the four shops. Their annual earnings averaged \$917 per annum or nearly \$18 per week.

The annual earnings of the corresponding female group averaged \$527 per annum or \$10 per week.

Needle-workers (female). The earnings of the 14 needle workers including finishers, fellers, buttonsewers and buttonhole makers varied all the way from more than \$300 to less than \$900 per annum and averaged \$807 per annum or less than \$16 per week. The earnings of basters (female) averaged \$650 per annum or \$12.60 per week.

### Earnings of Workers in the Pants Shop (Table 3)

Operators (Male). Unlike the coat and children's jacket shops, which pay their workers by the week, the pants shops, as a rule pay their employees by the piece. This, however, does not seem to have any appreciable effect upon the average earnings of the individual workers.

The distribution of earnings in this group of workers is different in the association and in the union shops. In the former the annual earnings vary from more than \$800 to less than \$1500 per annum, while in the latter the range is from more than \$700 to less than \$1500, one half of the workers being in the \$700-\$800 group. The medium wage for the association shops is close to \$1100 per annum, while in the union shops it is about \$800. The average of the 24 operators in the 4 pants shops is \$1025 per annum, or a little less than \$25 per week.

Operators (Female). The annual earnings of the 8 female operators vary from less than \$500 to more than \$1000, the average being \$700 per annum or \$13.50 per week.

**Pressers.** The annual earnings of the 13 pressers in the four shops vary from over \$700 to nearly \$1400 per annum, the average being \$1034 per annum or nearly \$20 per week.

Basters (Female). The wages of the 2 female basters averaged \$500 per annum or less than \$10 per week.

### Earnings of Employees in the Children's Jacket Shops (Table 4)

Operators (Male). The distribution of earnings in the association shops differs somewhat from that in the union shops. In the association shops the annual earnings vary from less than \$700 to more than \$2100 per year, while in union shops they range from more than \$700 to less than \$1500 per year. The medium line is close to \$1200 in the association shops and nearly \$1100 in the union shops. The average earnings of the 75 male operators in the 4 children's jacket shops are \$1171 per annum or about \$22.50 per week, being the highest operators' earnings in any of the branches of the industry.

Miscellaneous (turners, fitters, etc.) The average earnings of the 10 workers in this group were \$1440 per annum, or nearly \$28 per week, being the highest weekly wage of any group of workers shown in this report.

*Pressers.* The earnings of the pressers in the association shops varied from \$700 to less than \$1600 per year, and in the Union shops from more than \$700 to less than \$1400 per year. The average wage was \$1036 per annum or nearly \$20 per week.

Needle Workers (Male). The average earnings of the 14 basters, bushelers, etc., employed throughout the year in the 4 children's jacket shops were \$1071 per annum or nearly \$21 per week.

Miscellaneous (Female). This group includes cleaners, turners, etc. Their average earnings were \$707 per annum or about \$13.50 per week.

Needle Workers (Female). The annual earnings of the 15 female needle workers in these shops varied from more than \$500 to less than \$1200 and averaged \$777 per annum, or less than \$15 per week.

### Knee Pants (Table 5)

As is the case in the pants shop the workers in knee pants shops are paid by the piece.

Operators. The distribution of earnings in the association and the union shop is practically the same varying from about \$400 to more than \$1200 per annum. The average earnings of the 58 male operators employed throughout the year in the 4 knee pants shops were \$824 per annum or nearly \$16 per week. The earnings of the 6 female operators in the same shops average \$500 per annum or less than \$10 per week.

*Pressers.* The earnings of the 8 pressers in the knee pants shops vary from less than \$600 to more than \$1000 and average \$750 per annum or \$14.50 per week.

Finishers. The earnings of the 11 finishers found working throughout the year in the 4 knee pants shops averaged \$450 per annum or less than \$9 per week.

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### Summary of Earnings (Table 6)

Table 6 presents a summary of the average weekly earnings of workers in all the shops under investigation arranged by branches of industry and classified according to their occupation. An examination of part A of the table showing the earnings of the male workers will indicate a variation in wages according to occupations in the same branch of the industry as well as between the different branches of the industry. Comparing the different branches we find that the best paid workers are employed in the children's jacket shops, every occupation in that group showing higher wages than in any other branch of the industry. average weekly earnings in that branch of the industry vary from \$20.00 a week for pressers to \$28 for the miscellaneous group which includes turners, trimmers, fitters, etc. The women in that industry earn from \$12.50 per week for basters to \$15 per week for finishers and buttonsewers. The poorest paid workers are those employed in the knee pants industry in which male operators averaged only \$16 per week during the year and pressers averaged \$14.50 per week. The women workers in that industry were likewise the poorest paid of all industries, averaging from \$9 to \$9.50 per week. The coat industry is the next best to the children's jacket industry, the next in order being the pants and vestmakers' industries.

Comparing the wages in the same table by occupations, we find with one exception men operators to be the best paid workers in all of the branches of the industry, the single exception being that of the miscellaneous group including turners in the children's jacket industry, who command the highest average wage of \$28 per week. Barring that exception the next best paid occupation seems to be that of pressers, followed by men needle workers which includes tailors, bushelers and basters; the next in order being the miscellaneous group of turners, trimmers and fitters.

Comparing the male and female workers, the table bears out the general well known fact that men command higher wages than women. This is true not only of the same occupations in week work shops but also in piece work shops such as pants and knee pants, in which both men and women are paid the same piece rates; thus operators in coat shops average \$21 per week for men and \$11 for women; in vest shops \$19 for men and \$13 for women; in pants shops \$20 for men and \$13.50 for women; in knee pants shops \$16 for men and \$9.50 for women. Considering that a large proportion of men are married and have families to support, while probably the majority of the women employees are single, the difference in earnings is in accord with the difference in the cost of living which each of them has to meet. The same relation between the earnings of male and female workers holds true in the other occupations.

### Regularity of Employment

As already stated, it was found necessary to confine the investigation of annual earnings to those workers who were employed not less than 11 months in each shop. The test of whether workers were employed for a minimum period of 48 weeks consisted in finding them on the payrolls of the shop at the beginning and the end of that period

preceding the strike. If during that period a worker fails to earn any money during one or more weeks, an effort was made to ascertain the cause of his unemployment. If it was due to lack of work in the shop, the worker was included in the list. If his idleness was due to sickness or any other personal cause which laid him idle for a period exceeding four weeks, the worker was eliminated from the schedule. If the idleness was due to a strike, the workers affected thereby were likewise eliminated, the only exception in this case being the coat shop previously mentioned which was selected by the association and for which it was too late to substitute another shop. Due allowance has, however, been made elsewhere in this report in estimating the annual earnings of workers in the coat shops.

As previously explained, this method of selecting workers for the schedules resulted in showing the earnings of those most steadily employed in individual shops. To show the proportion which this class of workers bears to the total number of employees in each shop, table 7 has been prepared. This table shows in the first column the number of workers in each shop under investigation employed during the busy The second column shows the number of workers employed throughout the year whose earnings have been reported in our schedules. The last column shows the percentage which these employees bear to the total. Comparing the percentage by branches of industry, we find the highest percentage of employees employed during the year in the children's jacket shops, viz., 67 percent; the next highest is in the coat shops with 57 percent; these are followed by knee pants with 51 percent; with vest as the next highest as 47 percent and pants shops at the bottom of the schedule with only 34 percent. There is a reason to believe that the percentages of the pants and knee pants shops shown in the table are not truly representative of the actual situation in industry, and may be due to accidental causes affecting the employment of the people in the particular shops selected.

The significant part of the table is in the fact that a large percentage of the employees were employed only during a part of the year. This does not, of course, necessarily indicate that this group of employees was out of work or deprived of earnings during that period. Most of them left their shop to seek employment in shops working on uniforms attracted by the higher wages offered in connection with that work. On the other hand, the absence of these workers from their regular shops left more work for those who remained in the shop under investigation and to that extent raised the annual weekly average of the workers covered by this report.

Comparing the shops selected by the association and the union respectively, we find that in the knee pants industry and in the children's jacket industry the shops selected by the association show a higher percentage of workers employed throughout the year than those selected by the union. On the other hand, in the pants shops the poorest showing is made by one of the shops selected by the association with only 18 percent of the workers employed throughout the year, although that shop was one of the few shops run as an inside shop. In the vest industry one of the association shops is below one of the union shops, while the other association shop shows a higher percentage than the other union shop. In the coat shops one shop selected by the association boasts of a

100 percent employment figure while another is only 48 percent while the two shops selected by the union show an employment figure of 46 percent.

### Increases in Rates of Wages During the Past Year

The unusual demand for labor during the past year resulted in increases in the rates of wages throughout the industry, both in the shops working on a week work basis as well as in those paying by the piece. Practically all the shops had at least 2 general increases of wages. In several shops there were also additional increases applying to individual workers. In order to summarize these increases the sum total of the rates paid during the first and last weeks of the past year respectively were added, and the difference between the two representing the total increases for the year was expressed as a percentage of the rate prevailing at the beginning of the year.

Table 8 shows the percentage of increase in rates in each shop investigated. As will be seen by Table 8, the increases in the 4 shops in the coat industry varied from 20 to 24 percent. In the vest shops they varied from 24 to 31 percent. In the children's jacket shops the increase in rates varied from 14 to 30 percent. In the two branches of the industry employing their workers by the piece, the increases were not so marked as in the week work shops. Thus in the knee pants industry the increases varied from 7 to 20 percent. with one increase of 40 percent. on a single operation and in the pants shops, from 10 to 20 percent.

### Earnings of Employees in Cutting Rooms

Cutting is the one operation which is carried on on the premises of manufacturers and not left to contractors. There is considerable division of work in cutting rooms, the principal divisions being those of markers, machine cutters, fitters, examiners, trimming and lining cutters, and in some shops pullers or spreaders. The earnings in the cutting rooms were compiled in the same manner as in the outside shop. While in each of the other branches of the industry only four shops were investigated, two for the union and two for the association, an exception was made in the cutting department in which six shops were investigated, from a list furnished by the association and two for the union. The reason for the exception was that the association has been engaged for some time in investigating cutting costs in the shops of ten leading concerns in the industry. As that investigation did not cover the question of annual earnings, it was felt that it would be advisable to extend the inquiry into earnings in all of those shops. Lack of time prevented the carrying out of the plan in its entirety, but six of the largest shops were investigated in addition to two smaller factories suggested by the The shops investigated from the association list were as fol-Schwartz & Jaffee, Samuel Rosenthal & Bros., Light & Schlesinger, Zeeman and Grossman, Kahn Dreyfus, Cohen & Lang. suggested by the union were M. Frank Sons & Co. and Spero-Michaels Co.

Table 9 showed the earnings of the different classes of workers in cutting room in the association and the union shops.

Machine Cutters. The earnings of machine cutters ranged from \$1200 to \$1900 per annum, the average for the association shop being \$1580 per annum or \$29 per week, while that for the union was \$27 per week. It should be noted, however, that the average for the union shops is based upon the earnings of only two machine cutters, while that for the association shops is based on 22 machine cutters.

Markers. The earnings of 86 markers in the association shops varied from \$1000 to \$1900 per annum, the average being \$1502 per annum or \$29 per week. The average for the 6 markers in the union shops was \$26 per week.

Fitters. The earnings of fitters varied from \$800 to \$1500 per annum, the average being \$1205, or \$23 a week, while that for the 3 fitters in the union shop was \$19 per week.

Trimmer and Lining Cutters. The earnings of the trimming and lining cutters varied from \$900 to \$2200 per annum, the average for the 15 trimmers in the association shops being \$1423 per annum or \$27 per week, while the average for the 3 trimmers in the union shops was \$31 per week.

*Pullers.* Only 5 pullers were reported in the association employed throughout the year, their average earnings being \$970 per annum or \$19 a week. None was found in the two union shops.

Examiners. The earnings of examiners varied from \$600 to \$1800, the average being \$1350 per annum or less than \$26 per week as against

\$21 per week for the 6 examiners in the union shops.

Attention must be called to the fact that there was considerable overtime in the shops under investigation which, of course, helped to increase the total earnings. Only those working in the civilian departments of the firms mentioned were reported. In some instances, however, some of the employees in the cutting rooms were found to work part of the time on military work. As a rule they had a higher rate of compensation on military than on civilian work. This may have slightly raised the average earnings, although it would be impossible to compute the exact amount without elaborate calculations.

# Increase in Rates of Wages in the Cutting Industry (Table 10)

The same methods which were used in estimating the increase in rates in the outside shops were also applied in the cutting room. The increase in rates are shown to be as follows in Table 10: Machine cutters over 14 percent. in the association shops, a little less than 15 percent. in the union shops. Markers, nearly 15 percent. in the association shops, 10 percent. in the union shops. Trimmers and lining cutters, over 22 percent. in the association shops, less than 24 percent. in the union shops. Fitters, over 28 percent. in the association shops, 34 percent. in the union shops. Examiners, 17 percent. in the association shops, 13 percent. in the union shops. Pullers, nearly 21 percent.

### Regularity of Employment in the Cutting Shops

Table 11 shows the number of employees in the cutting rooms of certain concerns during the busy season, and the number of workers who were found employed throughout the year. Only in 3 of the Association shops and one of the union shops were the exact figures reported in both instances. The percentage of employees working throughout the year was found to be 36, 77 and 100 percent. in three of the Association shops, and 50 percent. on one of the union shops. The average for the 4 shops for which information was obtained was 66 percent. The same considerations as to the effect of the presence of uniform work upon the regularity of employment for those who remained on civilian work which were stated in connection with employment in the outside shops apply in the case of the cutting rooms.

### Cost of Living in New York City

It is hardly necessary to state that no attempt could be made to investigate the cost of living within the time allotted to this investigation. Nor did it seem necessary, in view of the fact that several investigations on the subject have been made in the last few years, especially since the outbreak of the European war. I, therefore, confined myself to having a compilation prepared of the official investigations relating to the cost of living in New York City. The latest of these investigations deals with the cost of living in 1917. To bring this up to the basis of prices prevailing in 1918, advantage was taken of the investigation made by the National Industrial Conference Board, which is made up of several associations of manufacturers in various lines of industry.

### Cost of Living of a Normal Workman's Family in New York City, 1914

The first estimate of the cost of living to which the attention of the Board is called is that prepared by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission in 1915, giving "an estimate of the cost of living for a normal family" in New York City in 1914, or the last year preceding the war. (\*) By a normal family is meant a family of 5 persons

(\*) 4th report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, 1915, vol. 4. p. 1668.

consisting of husband, wife and three children under fourteen years of age. This estimate is as follows:

	325.00 $200.00$ $20.00$
Rent	
It cit to the contract of the	20.00
Fuel and Light	
Clothing	140.00
Carfare	31.20
Insurance	35.60
Health	22.00
Furnishing	7.80
Education, newspaper	5.63
Recreation, amusement	50.00
Miscellaneous	40.00
Total \$8	376 43

This estimate is calculated on the basis of a minimum allowance necessary to maintain a family in a condition of well-being. A family income of less than that amount means actual privation or dependence upon charity. Some of the items seem to be too low, even when viewed in that light. Thus, only \$22 is allowed for the item of health, or less than \$.43 per week for doctor's and dentist's fees and medicines for a family of 4 persons. With only \$200 a year, or less than \$17 a month allowed for rent, which means in most cases an unheated apartment, the allowance of \$20 a year for fuel and light, or only a little over \$1.50 a month, can hardly be considered adequate. The allowance for the other items connot be said to err on the side of liberality.

### Estimate of Cost of Living of an Unskilled Workman's Family In New York in 1914

The next budget of a workman's family for New York City was that submitted by the Bureau of Standards of the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment, whose estimate of the "cost of living for an unskilled laborer's family in New York City" was submitted to provide a basis for the "salary recommendations for positions in the lowest grades of the street cleaning specifications" and for other positions as unskilled laborers throughout the city service. This estimate is as follows and will be found to be in very close agreement with the above estimate:

Housing	\$168.00
Food	380.00
Clothing	104.00
Fuel and light	42.00
Health	20.00
Insurance	22.88
Carfare	30.30
Sundries	73.00
Total	\$814.18

### Cost of Living of Unskilled Laborer's Family in New York City, 1916

In February of 1917 the Bureau of Personal Service of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City presented a "report on the increased cost of living for an unskilled laborer's family in New York City" which showed an increase in the cost of living of 16 2-3 percent. over the year 1914 as presented in the report quoted above.

This budget is as follows:

Housing	\$168.00
Food	492.39
Clothing	127.10
Fuel and Light	46.75
Health	20.00
Insurance	22.88
Carfare	30.30
Sundries	73.00
_	
Total	\$980 19

APPENDIX xxiii

It will be noted that it provides for an increased allowance for food, clothing, fuel and light, leaving the allowance for all other items the same as in 1914.

(1) Report of Bureau of Standards, 1915 p. 11.

### Family Budgets of Ship Yard Workers in New York and Vicinity

A more elaborate investigation into the cost of living relating to this city and the latest in point of time, is that made by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. This investigation was undertaken by the two federal Bureaus for the purpose of furnishing a basis for fixing the wage rates of shipyard workers in New York City and vicinity. This investigation differs from those previously quoted in that it was based upon actual expenditures, of which accurate records were kept by 608 families under the supervision of the Bureau. The budget was published in the Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for April, 1918, and is as follows:

					Per	cent
Exp	penditures	Percent	of i	ncreas	ses of c	ost of
	per	of total				
	family	expenditu	ires	1915	1916	1917
Clothing						
Males		8.14	1	4.78	20.32	51.40
Females	. 90.31	6.70		4.87	24.73	57.63
	\$200.07	14.84		4.82	22.31	54.21
Furniture, furnishings		3.23		8.43	27.60	56.47
Food		45.01		1.34	16.26	55.28
Housing		12.91		.10	.05	2.63
Fuel and Light	62.21	4.61		.06	10.98	19.92
Miscellaneous	261.62	19.40		1.97	14.91	44.68
Total	\$1348.64	100.00		1.97	14.91	44.68

This brings the estimate of the cost of living in 1917 to \$1350 in round figures.

As will be seen from the above table the investigation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that the increase in the cost of living over 1914 was as follows during each of the subsequent years:

																	I	9	ercent.
1915	 																		1.97
1916	 																		14.91
1917																			44.68

Increase in cost of living in 1918. There are no official figures to show the increase in the cost of living in New York City at the end of 1918. The most conservative estimate made by an official agency is that of the Industrial Conference Board in its report on "war time changes in the cost of living," published in Boston, August, 1918. (\*) According to this report the cost of living for the country as a whole in the first half of 1918 was 52.3 percent higher than in 1914. Applying

the above percentage of the increase in the cost of living for each year during the war to the budgets for 1914, 1916 and 1917, quoted above, we get the following estimates of the cost of living of a workman's family in New York City in June, 1918:

1.		1918—52.3 percent	
			\$1334.80

New York State Factory Commission Pudget for 1014

\$1279.59

3. New York Board of Estimate, Budget for 1916 ....... \$980.42 Increase in cost of living up to June, 1918—35.33 percent... 346.38

1326.80

\$1419.75

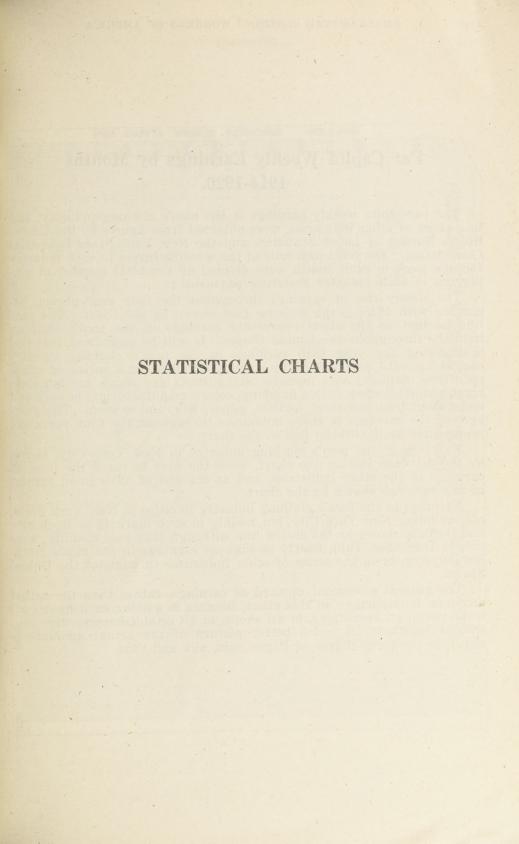
(\*) The National Industrial Conference Board is made up of the following national organizations: American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, American Hardware Manufacturers' Association, American Paper and Pulp Association, Electrical Manufacturers' Club, Manufacturers' Chemists' Association, National Cotton Manufacturers' Association, National Association of Manufacturers, National Association of Wool Manufacturers, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, National Founders' Association, National Metal Trades Association, Rubber Association of America, Silk Association of America, United Typothetae of America.

It will be noted that the last budget of the four is the highest. This is the budget based upon actual expenses as compiled under the direction of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, while the first three budgets are estimates of the New York State and Municipal Bureaus. The difference between the different estimates is, however, not very large.

This brings the family budget up to the middle of 1918. During the latter part of 1918 prices continued to rise, as a matter of common knowledge, although what the exact percentage of the increased cost of living was, we do not as yet know. According to the New York Times Analist, the prices of food in the middle of January, 1919, were 6.4 percent. higher than in June, 1918.

Since January there has been a decline in prices of some articles of food, such as butter and eggs, and a slight decline in some of the canned goods, but whether this decline is of a seasonal character, such as occurs always at this time of the year, or whether it is the forerunner of a general decline of prices, it is impossible to state at present.

Respectfully submitted, (Signed) N. I. STONE.



# Per Capita Weekly Earnings by Months 1914-1920.

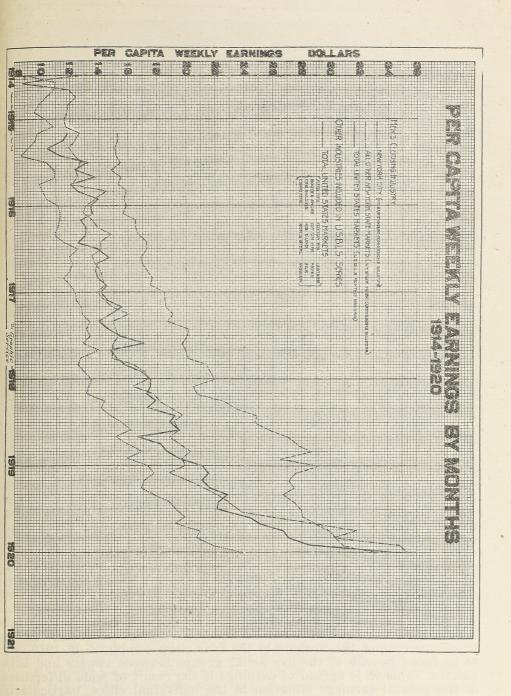
The per-capita weekly earnings in the men's clothing industry, and in a series of other industries, were obtained from figures by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the New York State Industrial Commission. The total pay rolls of the manufacturers in each industry for one week in each month were divided by the total number of employees in each industry receiving payment.

The steady rise of earnings throughout the four year period, beginning with 1915, is the striking fact shown by the chart. The continuous line on the chart represents earnings in the men's clothing industry throughout the United States. It will be seen from this line that during the year 1919 earnings in the men's clothing industry caught up with and passed in amount earnings in a series of other industries, namely: auto manufacturing, boots and shoes, car building, cigar manufacturing, cotton finishing, cotton manufacturing, hosiery and underwear, iron and steel, leather, paper, silk, and woolen. The averages of the earnings in these industries throughout the four years are represented by the broken line on the chart.

Earnings in the men's clothing industry in New York City, shown by the dot-dash line on the chart, were the first to reach the level of earnings in the other industries, and at the end of 1919 stood highest of any earnings shown on the chart.

Earnings in the men's clothing industry in cities in New York State, not including New York City, but mainly in such markets as Rochester and Buffalo, shown by the dotted line, although they rose steadily, were not, in December, 1919, nearly so high as earnings in the men's clothing industry, or in the series of other industries throughout the United States.

The general movement upward of earnings, rather than the actual amounts, is important on this chart, because in getting each figure, all employes in all operations, in all shops, in all establishments were considered together. A much better picture of the actual amounts is shown in the three charts on Pages xxix, xxx and xxxi.

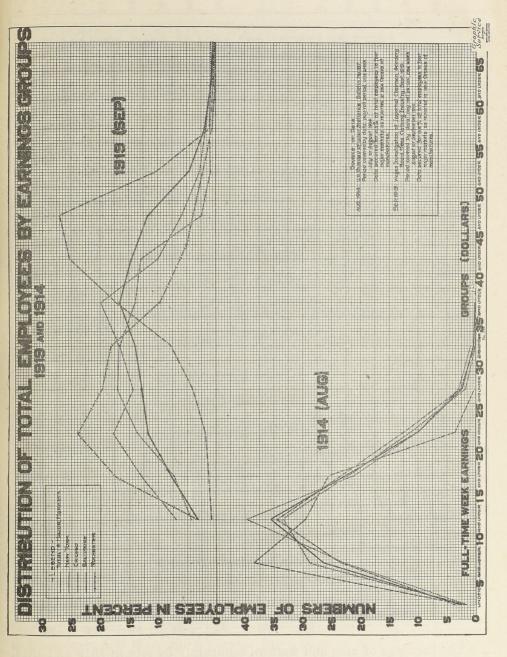


# Distribution of Employes by Earnings Groups For 1919 and 1914.

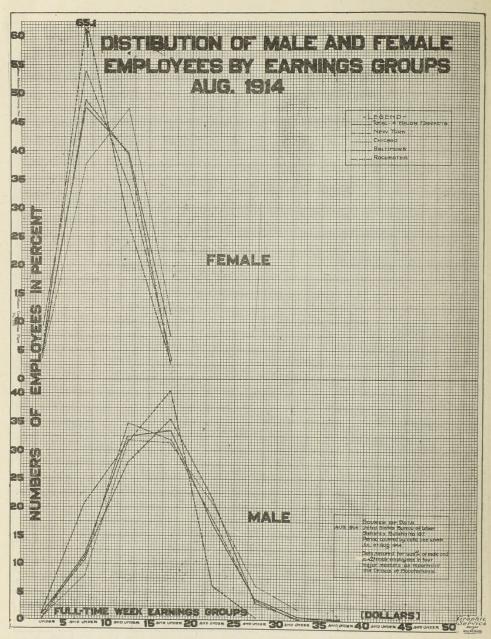
The three charts which follow show the amounts of earnings and the numbers of workers earning the different amounts in Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Rochester in a week in September, 1919, from an Impartial Chairman study and in August, 1914, from a study by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The first chart gives the information for all workers in the cities separately and combined for the two years, and the two charts following give the information for men and women separately for each year.

The scale of earnings along the bottoms of the charts show increases by five dollar amounts; the scale of workers along the sides of the charts is in percentages. Thus the successive points on the lines, opposite the mid-points of the earnings' scale along the bottom, show the proportions of the total workers studied, earning amounts within the limits indicated. In other words, the workers are grouped by their earnings, those earning between five and ten dollars being in one group, those between ten and fifteen dollars in another, and so on, the numbers in each group being considered as a given percent of all the workers.

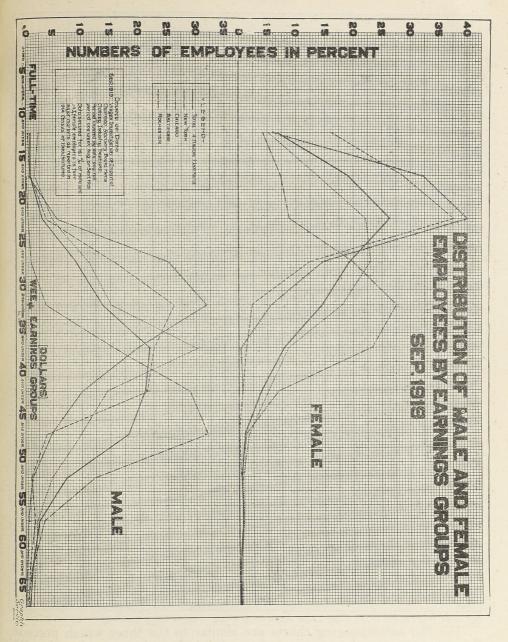
It may be seen from the first chart that the earnings of the total workers in the four cities in 1914 were very much alike. Between twenty and forty percent of the workers in each city earned between five and ten dollars per week, between thirty and forty percent of the workers in each city earned between ten and fifteen dollars per week, between twenty and twenty-five percent earned between fifteen and twenty dollars, and less than fifteen percent of the workers earned over twenty dollars in any city. In 1919, earnings in the four cities are very much higher than in 1914, but show great differences among the cities. In the cities combined, (continuous line on charts) less than fifteen percent of the workers in 1919 earned under twenty dollars per week as compared with less than fifteen percent earning over that amount in 1914, and of the approximate fifteen percent earning under twenty dollars in the latter year, none earned under ten dollars per week. About fifteen percent of the workers in the four cities combined, in 1919, are to be found in each of the five dollar groups between twenty and fifty This wide spread of earnings is the result of wide differences in the general earnings situation in the individual cities, particularly differences between New York and Rochester. The bulk, about 80 percent, of the workers in Rochester earned between fifteen and thirty-five



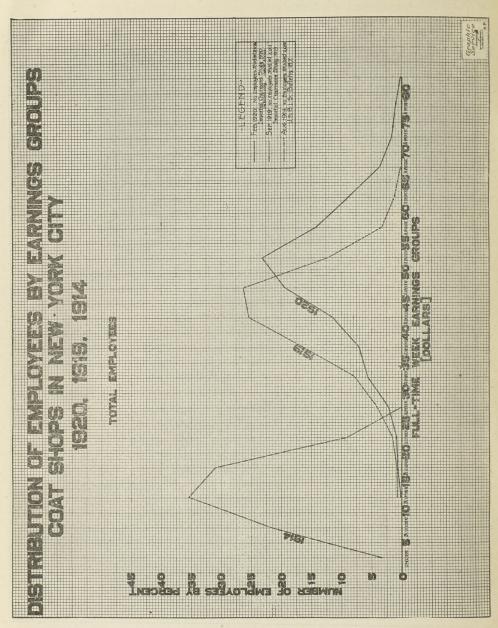
dollars per week, whereas about 80 percent of the workers in New York earned between thirty-five and fifty-five dollars per week. In Baltimore and Chicago about 80 percent of the workers earned between fifteen and forty-five dollars per week, the number of workers earning the larger amounts within these figures tending to be higher in Chicago than in Baltimore.



The earnings of men and women, separately by city in 1919 and 1914, presented in the second and third charts following, show that the average earnings of the women in each city in 1914, Chicago excepted, were about five dollars per week lower than the average earnings of the men. In Chicago, the earnings of men and women were about the same. In 1919, the curves for the several cities indicate that the changes in earn-

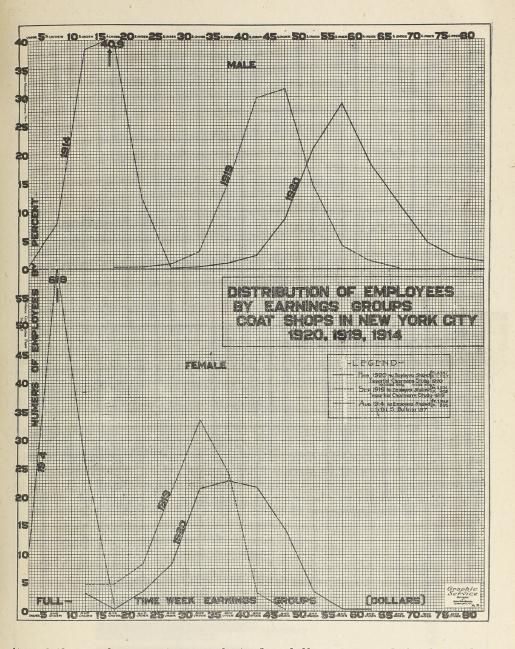


ings from 1914 to 1919 had been much the same for men and women in Rochester, had been much greater for women in New York and Baltimore, and much less for women in Chicago. The high level of women's earnings in Chicago in 1914, however, leaves this city still above Baltimore and Rochester in 1919, the order of the cities in earnings of both men and women in the later year being the same, namely New York, Chicago, Baltimore and Rochester, in descending order.



The two accompanying charts are similar to the three which precede, showing amounts of earnings and numbers of workers earning the different amounts. The figures are for coat shops in New York City only, for the years 1914 and 1919, and for inside coat shops in New York City only, in 1920. The months of the studies were August 1914, September 1919, and February 1920.

The charts show very clearly the movement, between 1914 and 1919, of earnings of the majority of workers from under twenty dollars to over forty dollars per week. A second shift which brought the major-



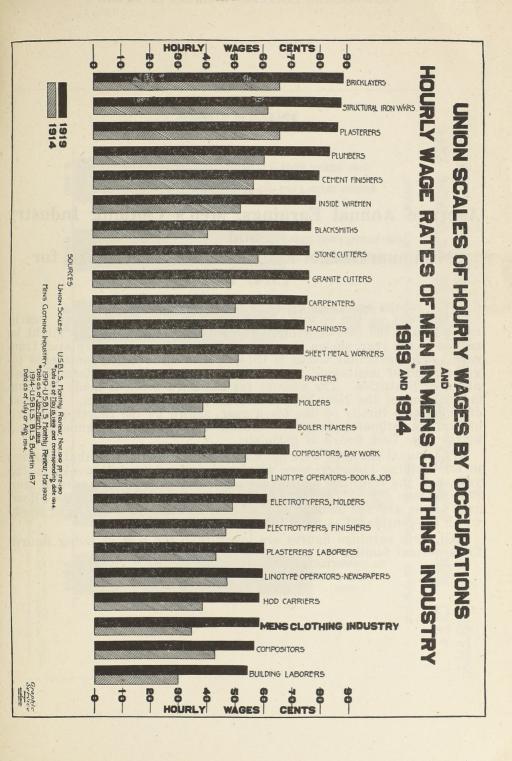
ity of the workers up to over forty-five dollars per week is shown by a comparison of the curves for 1919 and 1920, reflecting the increases obtained by the Union in December, 1919.

The earnings of women follow those of men, but remain considerably lower than those of men, and the difference between the highest and the lowest amounts is less than the corresponding difference for men. The explanation of these facts is, in part, that the women perform fewer kinds of, and somewhat less skilled operations than the men.

# Union Scales of Hourly Wages by Occupations and Hourly Wage Rates of Men in the Men's Clothing Industry 1919 and 1914

The bars in the chart which follows show by their heights the amounts of hourly wages in the different occupations mentioned. The black bars represent early 1919, the shaded bars late 1914, the information for both years for all occupations having been collected and published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The occupations are arranged in order of amounts of hourly wages, in descending order in 1919.

It will be seen that hourly wages in the men's clothing industry, as compared with the series of organized occupations in 1914, were lower than in any other occupation except that of building laborers. Early in 1919 they were still relatively low, standing third from the last. In the five year period, however, they increased from about thirty-five cents to about sixty cents per hour, an increase of about 70 percent, which is greater than the increases in almost all other occupations.

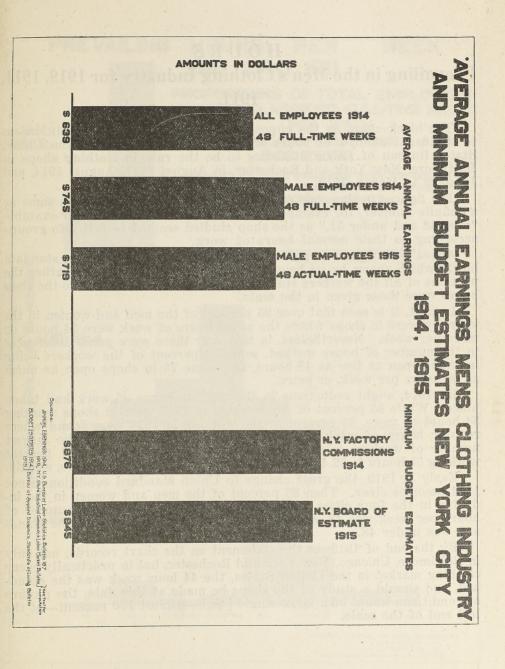


## Average Annual Earnings, Men's Clothing Industry and Minimum Budget Estimates, New York City, for 1914, 1919.

The chart on the opposite page presents a comparison of yearly earnings and the cost of living. The average amounts which might be earned in the year, shown by the first two blocks, were calculated from earnings in particular weeks in 1914, of men and women considered together, and of men alone, as investigated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The amount for the third block is made up from information of the New York State Industrial Commission. The cost of living of a family of five for a year, shown by the fourth and fifth blocks, are estimates made by the New York Factory Commission and by the New York Board of Estimate.

The annual earnings were calculated on the assumption that workers in the clothing industry were employed forty-eight full weeks in the year, and the resulting figures average \$639 for men and women, and \$745 for men alone. The third figure, for men alone, \$719, makes allowance for an average amount of slack work within the forty-eight weeks which are considered as constituting a year's employment.

All three earnings figures are lower than the cost of living figures for a normal family.



### HOURS

# Prevailing in the Men's Clothing Industry for 1919, 1914, 1911.

The block chart on the opposite page, is a picture of conditions as to the usual number of hours of work per week found by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to be the rule in clothing shops in Baltimore, New York and Rochester, in August 1911, August 1914, and January to March, 1919.

The figures in the scale of hours usually worked are given, some as a definite number, for example "at 48" and some by limits, for example "over 48 and under 51," as the shop studied seemed to fall into groups according to their normal hours of work.

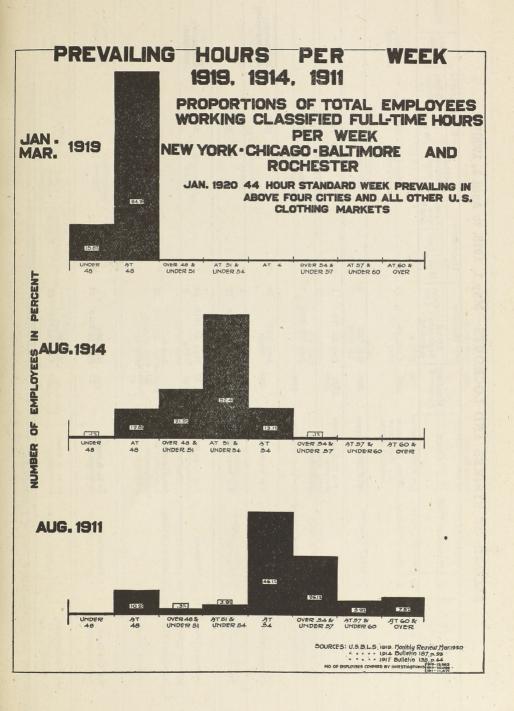
Above each figure, or pair of figures in the scale of hours, stands a block, which shows by its height the numbers of workers, or rather the portions of all the workers studied, found to be working where the shop hours were those given in the scale.

In 1911, it is seen that over 85 percent of the men and women in the industry were in shops where the usual hours of work were 54 hours or more per week. Nevertheless, in this year there were great differences in the number of hours worked, some 10 percent of the workers being in shops open as few as 48 hours, and some 75 in shops open as much as 60 hours per week, or more.

By 1914, slight reductions in the regular hours of work had taken place. While 85 percent of the workers in 1911 were in shops working 54 hours or more, 85 percent of the workers in 1914 were found where regular hours of work were at least 48, but under 54. The largest number of workers in a single group had changed from 46.1 percent working 54 hours to 52.4 percent working 51, but under 54 hours, weekly.

Early in 1919, the great change to Union standard conditions since 1914 becomes clear. Then 85 percent of the men and women in the industry in the four cities were in shops where the standard number of hours per week was 48, and 15 percent were in shops where the standard was under 48.

By the end of 1919, as the statement on the chart records, not only in Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Rochester, but in practically every clothing market in the United States, the 44 hour week was the standard, and should a study of the shops be made at this date, the picture of conditions would be a large single block—almost 100 percent—at the left end of the scale.



# RECORD OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS-May 1, 1918, to April 1, 1920\*

1	Other Gains Remarks	Supt. removed				Rochester shop organized		Completely unionized	OMUL	W 28	19	
Course Course	Hours Reduc-	ES 33			10.8							
Cario	in Wages	. 10 %	20 %	20%	10%	10%	20 %	20 %	10 %	1		
	Method of Adjust- ment	Direct negotiation	8 8	מ	Direct Negotiation	8	5 5			3		
Dienocition	Lost Com-	278									*	
1		***	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
1	Days	31	1	1	-	18	52	52	33	24	80	
1 Duration	Dates Beginning	April. 18- May 23, '18	Sept. 10- 11, 1918	July 23, '19-	July 7-8 1918	July 7-28 1918	July 25- Sept. 25 1918	July 25- Sept. 25 1918	Aug.5- BostonSept. 20 1918 50 Newark 45	May 20- June 18 1919	May 20- Aug 12 1919	
	No. of Members Involved	500	300	2500	4000	300	0.2	35	Boston 50 Newark 45	35	30	
	Cause	Wage increases & oppressive conduct of supt.	For 20 % increase	For 20 % increase	Lockout & strike	For wage increases	For wage increases	For wage increases	Sending work to non-union shops	44 hr & wage increases	44 hr. & wage increases	
	Branch of Trade	Men's Clothing	3	"	Men's Clothing		Overalls	Overalls	Men's Clothing	Sheepskin	- - - - -	
-	No.		1	225	100	1	. 1	П	1 N	L N	1	
	Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Schloss Bros.	U. S. Woolen Co.	- Contractors 2	Contractors & Manufacturers	Barron Anderson Co.	Tremont Overall Co.	Goldman Overall Co.	Kandasian Co.	Ed, Goldman	A. Pritzker	
	City	Baltimore	:	3	Boston	3	3	3	, s	:		-

\*Source for this and following tables: Diary of J. S. Potofsky.

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Remarks	<u> </u>		1 1 1 1 1 1	st 20- men			êE.	
Other Gains	Completely		Hingham factory unionized	Est. scales \$35-40 for coat & vest makers; \$20- 25 for women				
Gains Secured in Hours Vages ed						3e		4
Gains in Wages		8		30 %	\$5.00 per wk.	\$1-8 increase	20 %	10-15
Method of Adjust-	Direct Negotiation	April 1	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Arbitration	Direct Negotiation	3	Direct Negotiation 10-15%
$\begin{array}{c c} \hline Disposition \\ \hline Won & Lost & pro-\\ mised \\ \end{array}$		•			. , 6			7 (a)
Wo	*	4	*	ea ea	-	11	*	4
Duration ates Days Lost.	6	919	28		8	9		1919
Dates Beginning	June 19-	June 27- July 5 1919	June 18-28 1919	Sept. 2-4	Dec. 1-2 1919	Jan. 4-16 1920	Mar. 8 1920	July 30- Aug. 4, 1919
No. of Members Involved	150	80	150	400	1000	400	400	225
Cause	Collectiv <u>e</u> bargaining	Collective Bargaining	Collective Bargaining	Minimum scale	Stoppage; dispute over \$5 increase	Walkout	For wage increases	44 hrs., wages inc., & conditions
Branch of Trade	1 Men's Clothing	59 39	1 Men's Clothing	60 Custom Tailors	34 Pants & vests	1 Men's Clothing	60 Custom Tailors	1 Children's Clo.
No.		1		09	34 1		09	1
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Castle Clothing Co.	Leopold Morse Co.	Rhodes, Ripley Co.	Merchants Tailors	Contracting shops	Talbot Clothing Co.	Merchant Tailors	Wolf & Abrams
City	Boston	1		.=	3	3	n distance	Bridgeport

AIII							The state of the s			
	Remarks	le de la	on mm.	al T	on tee	ent		nto ial t		
	Other Gains	Preferential Union shop established	Recognition of shop Comm.	Preferential Union Shop established	Reinstate- ment with back pay. Recognition of committee	Government cancelled contract		Enteredinto preferential agreement		
Gains Secured	Hours Reduc-	10% in- crease, p.w. \$1. to w. w. 4	w. w.	p.w. w.w.	t- of with		00	29	%	
Gains	in Wages	10% in- crease, p \$1. to w	5% in- crease, p.w. \$1. w.w.	5 % in- crease, p.w. \$1. to w.w.	Adjust- r ment of prices made with comm.		\$3.00	15%	10-15%	
	Method of Adjust- ment	3	Mediation	Direct Negotiation	Administra- Adjust- tion of Labor ment of Standards prices made wi		Shop	Direct Negotiation	Shop	
Disposition	Won Lost Com-								*	
-	Wo	10	15 *	9		14	* 9	42	42	
Duration	es Days Lost	-28		3-29	-23	-30	-27	1919	8- , 1919	
Di	Dates Beginning & Ending	Apr. 18-28	May 23- June 10 1919	May 23-29 1919	Sept. 9-23	Oct. 14-30 1918	Jan. 21-27 1919	Feb. 28- Apr. 30, 1919	Feb. 28- Apr. 30, 1919	Contraction of
	No. of Members Involved	200	300	325	200	300	1500	250	150	
-	Cause M In	44 hrs. & increase in wages	41	For wage increases	Collective bargaining, Wage increases, Discrim-	Refusal to deal with committee & discrimination	For wage increases	Collective bargaining & wage	For wage increases	
	0	44 hrs. in wag	Lockout	For wa	Collecti gaining creases, ination	Refusal with cc discrim	For wa	Collective gaining increase	For wa	
	Branch of Trade	othing	:	=			othing	3	3	
	Branch	Men's Clothing	=	8	Uniforms		1 Men's Clothing	=	3	
_	No.	1	1	. 0	ohn 1	1 1		1	1	
	Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	& Co.		Frank, Lockner Co. H. Wile Co. Cohn, Himmel & Co.	Alfred Decker & Cohn 1 Uniforms	Scotch Woolen Mills	B. Kuppenheimer S.W. side factory	issman	Charles Kaufman	
-	Name or F Asso	H. Wile & Co.	M. Wile	Frank, Lockr H. Wile Co. Cohn, Himm	Alfred L	Scotch V	B. Kupp S.W. s	Cohn, Rissman	Charles	
	City	Buffalo	3	2	Chicago	=	÷.,,	2	3	

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Remarks	into nt	tee .on. lost lvery- n-	time		into		time		a defendable
Other	Entered into agreement	Committee recognition. Paid for lost time. Everybody rein-stated	Paid for time on strike		Entered into agreement		Paid for time on strike		
Gains Secured in Hours Vages ed						43e			
Gains in Wages	100		15%	\$3.00	200	Wage adjust- ments	20%	\$4.00	
Method of Adjust-ment	Shop Committee	Shop Committee	Shop	Shop	Shop	Shop	Shop	Ash Change and Change	Direct Negotiation
Disposition									
Disposi Won Lost						1			1.
Days W	09	18	က	п	55	19	9	-	36
Duration Dates Beginning & Ending	Mar. 2- May 12 1919	Mar. 3-26 1919	Mar. 4-7 1919	Mar. 7-8 1919	Mar. 10- May 12 1919	Mar. 10-31 1919	Mar. 11-18 1919	Mar. 12-13 1919	Apr. 1- May 12 1919
No. of Members Involved	300	1500	30	20	20	09	100		70
Cause	Discharge of active members	Discharge of shop committee	Reinstatement & wage increases	For wage increases	Collective bargaining	For wage increases	Wage increases	Lockout	For wage increases
Branch of Trade	1 a a	1 " "	1 Pocket makers	1 Men's Clothing cutters only	1 Cutters only	1 Men's Clothing	1 u u	" "cutters only	1 Men's Clothing
No.	1 2							1	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Ederheimer & Stein	K. Kuppenheimer S. W. side factory	Lamm & Co.	Bried & Rogovsky	Scotch Woolen Mills	Obendorff & Co.	A. E. Anderson	International Tailoring Co.	Bried & Rogovsky
City	Chicago	3 11	3	3	3	=	3	3	3

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Remarks	7	ito					i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	Better Globe treatment tailoring treatment tailoring Apr. 12 Milton Octs June 3	1919
Other	Agreed to deal with committee	Entered into agreement	Shop committee recognized	Mineral I		Paid back pay amt. \$2,949		Better	
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc-	3	97008	Wages ad- justed with committee	20 %	Wage ad- justments			15%	
Method of Adjust-	Unofficially thru union representative	Direct Negotiation	Shop Committee	Shop Committee	Shop Committee	Direct Negotiation	Company	Shop	
Disposition  Won Lost Pro-							*		
W Wo	24	24	16	9	9	36	80	96	
on Days Lost						1 30	108		
Dates Dates Beginning I & Ending	Apr. 8- May 5 1919.	Apr. 12- May 12 1919	Apr. 15- May 3 1919	Apr. 15-22 1919	Apr. 23-30 1919	July 24- Sept. 7 1919	Mar. 19-	Mar. 24- Sept. 23 1919	
No. of Members Involved	1500	30	1200	150	20	250	150	2000	
Cause	Refused to see committee	For wage increases	Refusal to grant increases to col- lar makers	Wage increases	Wage increases	Back pay	Lockout for be- longing to union	20% increase, collective bargaining, division of work	
Branch of Trade	and the carpy	9 9	a a a	a	n control of the cont	2	4 Men's Clothing	27 Men's Clothing	
No.	1	. 1	n 1	1	-	1	4	27	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	B. Kuppenheimer	Banner Tailoring Co.	Alfred Decker & Cohn 1	Edward Rose & Co.	Stagg Tailoring Co.	Harris & Guttman	Cincinnati Clothiers Assn. (label shops)	General	
City	Chicago	2	<b>3</b> 5	3	z . :		Cincinnati	:	

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Other Gains Remarks	Union shop		Is about the second of the sec		Shop				Collective bargaining
Gains Secured in Hours Wages ed	20%	Wage n adjustments	n 10%			Wage n adjust- ments	ъп \$6.00	Reduc- tion	urd
Method of Adjust-ment	Shop	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation		THE STATE OF THE S	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	War Labor Board
Disposition  Won Lost pro-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Dates Days Beginning Lost	Jan 19-28 1920 288	Oct. 21-25 4	Dec. 15-18 1919 3	Jan. 22 1920	Feb. 4 1920	Feb. 16-19 3	Mar. 1-17 1920 14	Feb. 19-26 6	Jan. 7-23 1919 16
No. of Members Involved &	Jan 255	0c 11	De 19	32	35 Fe	Fe 40 1	55	100	750 Ja
Cause	Refused to grant 20% increase	For wage increases & collective bar- gaining	Wage dispute	Lockout against A. C. W. A. members	Unsatisfactory	Disregarded agreement	Protest against buy- ing Company stock	Reduction in hours increase in wages	Collective
Branch of Trade	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	Custom tailors	1 Men's Clothing
Firm No.	-	1						ailors	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Tony Linke (Contractor)	Raab Bros.	Nobby Tailors	Block Uniform Co.	Gold Bond Co.	Freedman Bros.	Gaylords'	Merchant Tailors	Indianapolis Kahn Tailoring Co.
City	Chicago	Cleveland	3	3	3	3	3	Haverhill	Indianapoli

xlvi											
Remarks				etion	rk	p:					
Other Gains	(*)			Complete	Weekwork	Improved sanitary conditions in shop					
Hours Reduc-	4			To 44		m 8 8.	4	4		Title Charles	
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc	\$4.00		20%	30%	\$5. inc.	Minimum \$33. for men, \$18. for women		10-15 %			
Method of Adjust-ment	Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation 10-15%		Applied .	
Disposition    Com-		*									
Disposi Won Lost	*		*	*	. *	*	*	*			
Days Lost	9		73	74	9	1	72	10	29	29	
Dates Beginning & Ending	Jan. 18-27 1919	Oct. 4 1919	Jan. 12-17 1920	Sept. 15 1919	Mar. 3-11 1920	Sept. 1-8	June 30 1919	July 15-25 1919	July 6- Aug. 4, 1919	July 6- Aug. 4, 1919	
No. of Members Involved	250	150	25	145	125	20	25	35	& 25	& 30	
Cause	Reinstatement & wage increases	44-hour week & wage increase	For wage increase	30 % increase	\$5. increase & week work	Minimum scale	Hours	For hours & wage increases	Reduction in hours & increase in wages	Reduction in hours & increase in wages	
No. Branch of Trade	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	32 Custom Tailors	28 Custom Tailors	1 Custom Tailors	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Sherman & Sons	Superior Woolen Mills	Goldberg & Son	Merchant Tailors	Merchant Tailors	J. &. S. Polacheck or People's Tailoring Co.	Minneapolis Northern Fur Co.	T. W. Stevenson	Juster Bros.	Gradnick & Fostbinder	
City	Louisville	11	"	Lynn		Milwaukee	Minneapolis	n e	n	:	

Remarks				Workers returned pending investigation.	0 % 00 00 00 00	do	u <sub>0</sub>	XIVI
Other Gains					Gained 20 % inc. and 10 hrs. for 100 bushelmen	Union shop	Partial recognition	44-hours from May 1919
Hours Reduc-		9	.\$2.			9	9	a a
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc	\$2.00	12 %	Men-\$3. Women \$2.			, ,		\$3.00 men \$2.00 women
Method of Adjust-ment	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation	Shop	Shop	Direct Negotiation
Disposition  Com-  Lost pro- mised				Bu	*		*	
Wo		*	*	24 Pending	m	*	6	*
ion Days Lost	8 10	119 24	18			919 54	19 69	
Dates Dates Beginning A. Finding	July 24- Aug. 4 1918	Feb. 10- Mar. 19 1919	Mar. 1-23 1920	Feb. 25- Mar. 23 1920	Feb. 13-16 1920	July 21- Sept. 24 1919	July 21- Oct. 20 1919	Dec. 16-23
No. of Members Involved	200	221	40	125	350	150	80	18
Cause	For wage increases	tours &	For change from piece to time work		Hrs. & 23% inc.	For collective bargaining, 44-hours & wage increases	For collective bargaining, 44-hours & wage increases	3 Pants & Overalls For wage increases
Ca	For wag	For 44-hours & wage increases	For charpiece to	Lockout	Hrs. &	For collective k gaining, 44-hou wage increases	For collective k gaining, 44-hou wage increases	For wag
Branch of Trade	Mothing	en's Clothing	Mothing	lothing	Tailors			Overalls
	1 Men's Clothing	4 Men's C	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	65 Custom Tailors	1 Shirts		3 Pants &
No.	-							lls
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Levenson Co.	Benedict & Wendim Santoro & Solimins J. Hisler & J. Rewitz	Haber & Beck	Neeman & Grossman	Merchant Tailors	Nathan Fagen	Philip Jones	Kadish Bros. Ideal Pants Co. Blue Star Overalls
Z	Leve	Ben Sant J. H J. R	Hab	Nee			Phi	Kac Ides Blue
City	Montreal	Newark	3	3	New Haven	New Phila.	3	Norwich

aviii								
Remarks	da		ar- tp					tem by pt.
Other Gains	Union Shop		Later en- tered prefer- ential group agreement					Bonus system abolished by decision of Admin. Sept. 11 1918
Gains Secured in Hours Vages		31/2	4	22		57/2		
Gains S in Wages		Union	Union	\$5.00- \$7.00 per week		Union	in- 25 %	25%
Method of Adjust- ment	Mediation through Dr. Abelson		Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Shop	Admin. of Labor Standards	Direct nego- tiation with in- dividual em- ployers	Admin. of Labor Standards
Disposition  Com-								Transport
Disposi Won Lost	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
ays	06	42	17	27	62	70	16	6
Dates Beginning Dates & Ending	Jan. 24- May 7, 1918	Apr. 9- May 27 1918	June 18-	July 10-	July 18-20 1918	July 30- Aug. 5 1918	Aug. 14- Sept. 2 1918	Aug. 20-30 1918
No. of Members Involved	300	100	160	200	35	110	450	1500
Cause	Recognition of union	Demand for 20% inc., union shop & sanitary conditions	Recognition of union; 44-hrs., de- mand for prevail- ing market inc.	Withdrawal of an increase	Reinstatement	Reduction in hrs. & inc. in wages	For 48-hrs.; 25 % inc., time & ½ for overtime	Recognition of shop comm., 40% inc., abolition of bonus system
Branch of Trade	1 Child. Clothing	1 Shirts	1 Men's Clothing	9 Overalls	1 Shirts	3.	150 Shirt Cutters	1 Uniforms
No.				6		1	150	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Samuel Glass	Meyrovitz Bros.	Hays & Levy	Overall Mfg. Prot. Association	Valentine's	Lustberg & Nast	General strike	Cohn, Goldman Co.
City	New York	3	:	<b>3</b>	2	:	3	

Other Gains Remarks		Establishment of impartial machinery	Establishment of impartial machinery				Discharge of non-union workers	Gave up out- of-town shop
Method of Gains Secured Adjust- in Hours ment Wages Reduc-	Direct Negotiations 15 %	Advisory Bd. composed of Felix Frank- furter, Wm. Z. Ripley, Louis Marshall \$2. inc. 4	Advisory Bd. composed of Felix Frank- furter, Wm. Z. Ripley, Louis Marshall \$2. inc.	Adjustment of wage scale		A double male top	Direct Negotiation \$2. inc. 4	Direct Negotiation \$2. inc. 4
$\begin{array}{c c} & & & & \\ \hline & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & & \\ & \\ & & \\ &$	» 6	*	A6 * confidence of February Figure 1. Figure 1	Ad * of	*	**	111 * Ne	* 1111 * Ne
Dates Beginning	) Sept. 21- Oct. 1	Oct. 28 1918-	Jan. 22 1918-	400 Nov. 11-30 1918	Feb. 1- Mar. 10 1919 7 weeks	July 28- Aug. 14 1919	Nov. 11 1918 Apr. 21 1919	Nov. 11 1918 Apr. 21 1919
No. of Members Involved	se 2500	و 10,000	35,000		ecog-	on of 325	n- inc. 600	88
Cause	Wage increase	For 44-hrs. & $20\%$ increase	Lockout	For increase in wages	For 44-hrs., recognition of union	For recognition of union & wage increases	For hrs. & conditions, wage inc.	For hrs. & conditions
No. Branch of Trade	200 Custom Tailors	300 Child. Clothing	1300 Men's Clothing	44 Canvas Pads	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	General strike	General strike	General strike	General strike	Brokaw Bros.	Siff Bros.	F. B. Q.	Eisenberg & Settle
City	New York	3	3	n a	2		3	=

Remarks	1	1			1:12.			
					yle	fer-		re- a- 147 150 om- union
Other					Completely	Later en- tered prefer- ential group agreement		3 firms preferential agreement 147 mígrs. & 150 contrs., complete recognition of union of union
Hours Reduc- ed	4				OB	4 te		15
00				%	sted ding e- ng et	.55.		40% inc. 6 Piece workers 25% Week workers
Gains in Wages	262		g	Direct Negotiation 10-15%	Adjusted according to prevailing market scale	Union rep's. as individuals \$3,4&5.		
Method of Adjust- ment	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct	Direct Negotiation	n rep's iduals		Direct Negotiation
		Nego	Neg	Dega	Nego	Unio		Dio
Disposition Won Lost Comproduced pro-	e C					*		
Disposition		*	*	*				
Days Wc	42	18	9	9	m	42	5	. 29
Duration sates Digining Landing	1919	-24	-20	-30	19	1919	919.	1919
Dates Beginning	Mar. 10- Apr. 29 1919	May 13-24 1919	May 13-20 1919	May 24-30 1919	July 16-19 1919	July 1- Aug. 18 1919	July 1 1919 Pending	July 1 Oct. 15 1919
	200	450	160	1 400	f 008	J. A 200	£ 009	J C 10,000
No. of Members Involved		J.			Φ.			
98	urs	For recognition of union	For union recognition & wage inc.	For inc. in wages	Right to belong to A.C.W.A. and wage increase	For collective bargaining & prevail- ing market inc.	For collective bargaining & prevail- ing market inc.	For 44-hrs., inc. wages, & collective bargaining
Cause	For 44-hours	For recog union	For union recog- nition & wage in	r inc. ir	Right to belong to A.C.W.A. and wage increa	collecting & market	collecti ing & 1 market	44-hrs.
- ep	Fo			Fo	Rig to A and	For gair ing	For gain ing	For wag barg
Branch of Trade		Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing			othing	othing	
Branch	11 Overalls	Men's C	Jen's C	30 Pants	1 Pants	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	irts
No.	11 0	1 1	1 1	30 · P		I M	1 M	150 Shirts mfg. 150 contr.
irm or ons	Prot.				Jacob Cohen & Sons (Label Shop)	rel &	·	
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Overall Mfg, Prot.	Fruhoff Bros.	Hays & Levy	Pants Contr. (cheap gr.)	Cohen Shop	Raphs	Peet C	l strike
Na. or As	Overall Assn.	Fruhe	Hays	Pants (chea	Jacob (Labe	Berger, Raphael & Weil	Rogers Peet Co.	General strike
City	New York							
Ö	New	*		3	3	- 5	8	*

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Other Remarks	Entered into preferential union shop agreement	Entered into preferential union shop agreement		Strike work withdrawn	Shop	Right of collective bar- lective bar- gaining re- affrmed; no discrimination	Union shop	Subcontract- ing abolished
Gains Secured in Hours Wages ed	Union representatives \$5. inc.	Estab. \$35. scale 4-6	12½ % inc.			Wage adjust- ments	25 %	oley
Method of Adjust-ment	Union representat	Direct Negotiation	Arbitration	And Allerton		Admin. of Labor Standards	Direct Negotiation	Admin. of Labor Stan- dards Judge Moses & Ripley
$\begin{array}{c c} & & & \\ \hline & & & \\ \hline \\ & \\ \hline \end{array}$	36 *	*	18	**		*	162 *	*
Dates Dates Beginning Lost & Ending	July 7- Aug. 19 1919	Sept. 25- Oct. 2 1919	Jan. 13- Feb. 4 1920	Feb. 15- Mar. 25 1920	Feb. 25-	May 9-23 1918	Feb. 12- Aug. 12 1918 16	Aug. 30- Sept. 6 1918
No. of Members Involved	1,500	200	3,000	325	125	300	. 09	200
Cause	For collective bargaining & \$5. inc., prevailing market increase	For collective bargaining, 44-hr. wk., minimum scale, 25% wage increase	For 25 %increase	Workers refused to do strike work	Workers refused to do strike work	Lockout	For inc. in wages & collective bar- gaining	Assault on shop chairman
No. Branch of Trade	1 Men's Clothing	18 Bushelmen	28 Washable Sailor Suits	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Uniforms	1 Shirts	1 Uniforms
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	New York Cohn, Goldman	Dept. Stores	Washable Sailor Suit Mfrs. Assn.	Siff Bros.	Kruger & Frankell	Philadelphia Wanamaker & Brown	Casper & Friedman	A. B. Kirschbaum
City	New York	Mario festing		3	9	Philadelphia	a	8

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Remarks							im-	Time and Decision one-half affected for over- all mem-times. \$12 bers of minimum Rochester for women Clothiers' Exchange
Other Gains							No discrimination	Time and one-half for overtime. \$12 minimum for women
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc-	\$3. for men, \$2. for wo- men 15% p. w.	rds 6%	1 81/2% 4				15%	10-20%
Method of Adjust- ment	Direct Negotiation	Admin. of Labor Standards	Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation	Ripley-Kirstein award
Disposition  Won Lost pro-	*	- No.	*	*	*			
Days W	N	9	1	48	11/2		9	41
Dates Beginning A Fraction		Oct. 1-7 1918	Mar. 31 1919	Nov. 15- Jan. 15 1919	Aug. 5-6 1919	Dec. 1 1919 Pending	Oct. 15-22 1919	July 16-20 1918
No. of Members Involved	2,000	30	2,000	120		200	65	200
Cause	For inc. in wages	Refusal to pay inc.	For 44-hr. wk.	For collective bargaining, wage inc., bonus	For wage inc. & collective bargain-ing	For collective bargaining, \$5, inc.	Discrimination against A. C. W. of A. members	For 15-20 % wage increase
Branch of Trade	27 Men's Clothing	1 Shirts	27 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing
No.	27	1	27	1	1	1	-	-
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Market St. Mfgrs. (General strike)	Joblin Mfg. Co.	General strike	Reuben Jacobs	Jacob Reed	A. B. Kirschbaum	Oppenheimer	Rosenberg Bros.
City	Philadelphia	3	:	=:	3	3.	Pittsburgh	Rochester

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Other Remarks	The state of the s	-	Shop closed	Awarded back pay by Arbitrator	Shop chairman and committee recognized 2 weeks after strike was called off			2 firms grant- ed \$5-7 in- crease in 2nd wk. of strike
Method of Gains Secured Adjust- ment in Hours Wages Reduc- ed	Direct Negodiation 15% 4	15%		Arbitration		Direct Negotiation 20%		Shop commit - \$4.00 tee & union w. w. representative 10-20% 4-6 p. w. hours
Duration Disposition  Dates Days Won Lost Pro-	July 7-20 1918 12 *	July 25- Aug. 7 1918 10	July 15- Aug. 10 1918 24 *	July 15-28 12 *	Nov. 1- Dec. 25 1918 50 *	Feb. 20-24 4 *	July 25 1919 Pending	Oct. 6- Dec. 1, 1919 49 *
No. of Members Involved	100	Jul Au 40	Jul Au 150	Ju. 19	200	100	Ju.	300
Cause	Collective bargain- ing, wage increases, 44-hours	Non-compliance with arbitration award	Non-compliance with arbitration award	Non-compliance with arbitration award & reinstate- ment	Disagreement on pressers production	Collective bargain- ing, wage increase	Collective bargaining	For wage increases
5. Branch of Trade	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	7 Men's Clothing
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Barron Anderson	B. Lisson	B. Goldstein	Hirschberg & Co.	Levy Bros.	Siegel Bros.	Michaels-Stern Co.	Ritter Bros. Nelson Pollock Destein Co. Sigfried Rosenberg Sigfried & Soms Tesler Sabobunick Perfect Clothing Co.
City	Rochester	9	77	3	3 1	3	3	St. Louis,

liv									
Remarks				м				ly	al d
Other Gains		4		Weekwork		September 1972		Completely	Preferential union shop established
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc-	Price ad- justments		10-15% 4	23 % 4			15% 10	. 10-15%	15% 4
Method of Adjust-	Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation			Shop	Admin. of Labor Standards	Direct Negotiation
Disposition  Won Lost pro- mised		1				*			* 01
$\frac{n}{\frac{Days}{Lost}}$ Wor	* 88		* 2%	* 01			* ∞	*	42 *
Dates  Beginning & Ending	Dec. 30- Jan. 26 1920	Mar. 6 1920 Pending	June 6 1919	June 4-19 1919	Feb. 14 1920 Pending	Feb. 28 1920	Oct. 22-30 1919	Oct. 18-28 1918	Feb. 18- Mar. 29 1919
No. of Members Involved	15	80	200	45	500	09	09	80	400
Cause Inv	Lockout	Collective bargaining & wage increases	Hours & wages	Hours & wages	Men's Clothing Collective bargain- Shirts and Sport- ing & wage increases ing goods	Collective bargaining	Hours & wages	Increase in wages	For 44-hours & wage increases
Branch of Trade	Men's Clothing	Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing Shirts and Sport- ing goods	1 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Uniforms	6 Men's Clothing
No.		Co.					1		9
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Nelson Pollock Clothing Co.	Missouri Pants Co.	Gordon & Ferguson	H. Harris	Guiterman Bros.	Klinkerfues Bros.	Nagleberg & Feigenbaum	Torry-Epstein Co.	General strike
City	St. Louis	3	St. Paul	3	. =	5	Scranton	Stoughton	Syracuse

Remarks	ole				30 a			52.36	A03	
Other Gains	Collective bargaining time & 1/2 overtime double pay for legal holiday	Collective bargaining signed agree- ment July 14 1919		iqÃ	b. the		16			
Gains Secured in Hours Wages Reduc-	25%	40%			Wage ad- justments	\$2. w.w. 10% p.w. 4	, 10		4	
Method of Adjust-	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation		Government Wage ad- Agencies justments	Direct Negotiation		Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation	Direct Negotiation
Won Lost Compressed Pro-			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	PARTO P
ays	m	17	∞		1	15	6	1	co •	4
Dates Beginning L	Apr. 14-17	Apr. 22- May 9 1919	Dec. 22-30 1919	Aug. 27 1919	June 3-4 1918	June 3-18 1918	Sept. 22 1919	May 6-7 1918	July 8-11 1919	Dec. 22-26
No. of Members Involved	300	280	30	009		100	50	200	150	85
Cause N	Collective bargain- ing, wage increases	Collective bargain- ing, wage increases	Hours & wages	Collective bargain- ing, wage increases	Collective bargain- ing & wage increases	Wage inc. & hours	Lockout	Wage increase & conditions	Wage increases $\&$ 44-hours	Reinstatement of 2 employees
Branch of Trade	I Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Overalls & Pants 1	8 Men's Clothing (	1 Uniforms	2 Men's Clothing	1 Men's Clothing	1 Uniforms	1 Children's Clo.	1 Children's Clo.
n No.	gu .			~						
Name of Firm or Firms or Associations	Tip Top Tailoring Co.	W. R. Johnston	The Union Overalls & Pants Mfg. Co.	General strike	J. Eskin	Hyman, Elick & Shafer	Rosenthal & Diez	Woodbine Children's Clothing Co.	Woodbine Children's Clothing Co.	Woodbine Children's Clothing Co.
City	Toronto	a	Trenton	Utica	Vineland	3	3	Woodbine	B	**

## SUMMARY OF CAUSES OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS May 1, 1918 to April 1, 1920

Cause	May 1, 1918 to Apr. 30, 1919	May 1, 1919 to Apr. 1, 1920	Total
Increase in wages	18	11	29
Increase in wages and decrease in hours	11	16	27
Collective bargaining	5	6	11
Collective bargaining and increase in wages	12	8	20
Collective bargaining and decrease in hours	1		1
Collective bargaining and conditions	1	2	3
Discrimination	1		1
Conditions and hours	1		1
Conditions, wages and hours	3	1	4
Union members discharged	3	2	5
Non-compliance with agreement	4	2	6
Lockouts	5	2	7
Other causes	4	2	6
Total	69	52	121

### GAINS SECURED WITHOUT STRIKES MAY 1, 1918 TO APRIL 1, 1920

City	Date	Benefi	t gained	Method of securing gain
Lange by the	He de			
Baltimore	May 1, 1918 Aug. 15, 1918	Pressers	General increase 10 % Increase \$2.50	Direct negotiation
	Sept. 1, 1918 Sept. 10, 1918	Sonneborn Co., Strouse Bros. Cutters and Trimmers Mail order and custom tailors Strouse Bros.	Increase \$3.60 Increase 20% Increase 5-15% piece workers;	
			\$23. week workers Increase 10-12½ %	2 11 11
	Feb. 4, 1919 July 23, 1919 July 23, 1919	Entire market Henry Sonneborn & Co.	10-12/2/3/44-hour week Increase 10 % Increase 10-20 % piece workers;	
		Entire market Henry Sonneborn & Co.	\$4. week workers Increase \$6.	
	Feb. 14, 1920	Henry Sonneborn & Co.	Back pay \$54,000. Ch	Arbitration Board
			101/0	Direct possibilities
Boston	Aug. 5, 1918 Feb. 12, 1919 Mar. 19, 1919	New Star Overall Co. Entire industry Department store bushelmen	Increase 12½ % 44 hr. wk. beginning Mar. 1, 191 Increase \$4. men; \$3. women;	
			2 weeks' vacation with pay for workers employed 6 months or more; 44-hour week	
	Apr. 14, 1919 May 9, 1919	Entire trade Cutters	Increase \$2. Increase \$3. week workers; \$2.50	
		Entire market	piece workers; 44-hour week Increase 20 % to those earning up to \$15; 15 % to those earning up to \$35; 10 % to those earning	
	Jan. 18, 1920	Bushelmen	over \$35. Increase \$4. to those working in retail stores, beginning Jan. 1,	
			1920; increase \$5. to those in manufacturing places beginning Dec. 1, 1919; increase \$4.	
dava razoida			where employees get 2 weeks' vacation with pay	Decision Impartia
	Jan. 22, 1920	Sheepskin workers	Increase \$3. week workers; average 25% piece workers beginning January 8, 1920	Chairman Wood
	Mar. 12, 1920	Custom Tailors	Increase \$5-8 week workers; 20 % piece workers	Direct negotiation
	Mar. 31, 1920	Cutters	Increase \$5. week workers; 18% piece workers; to begin April 5, 1920.	State Silverge
Martin Control				
Bridgeport	Aug. 1919 to M Mar. 1, 1920 V	Iar. 1 1920, Wolf & Abrams Volf & Abrams	Increase 5-10% ; 25% Increase \$2	Direct negotiation
infathage'r	resolution of the	namara cas	* Allie a floow dadges o tal. O	Charle Shipe
Chicago	June 5, 1918 June 18, 1918	Department store bushelmen Reinstatement 15 discharged workers	Increase \$2.; minimum wage	Direct negotiation Adm. Labor St'nd
		150 pants makers, several firm		Direct negotiation
		Hart, Schaffner & Marx	Increase \$2. week workers; 8-1/3% pc. wk.; 44-hr. wk.	
		Edward V. Price & M. Born & Co. Wholesale clothiers,	44-hour week Increase 10% from Apr. 28;	Vol. Announcemen
	Mar. 3, 1919 Mar. 13, 1919	50 cutters, Chicago T'lrs. Asso. International Tailoring Co.,		
		cutters City Tailors	Increase \$4.; increase \$2. week previous. Increase 10%; previously in-	
	Mar. 14, 1919	SALAR TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF THE P	Increase 10%; previously increased 15% Preferential agreement	Direct negotiation
	May 13, 1919 May 21, 1919	Continental Tailoring Co. Wholesale Clothiers Assn. W'lsale T'lrs. Association	Preferential agreement. Same agreement W'lsale Clothiers' Assn.	"
	May 26, 1919	Rosenwald & Weil	Same as W'lsale Clothiers' Assn.	

City	Date	•	Benefit	Gained	Method of Securing Gain
Chicago (Continued)	July 9, 1919 July 23, 1919	Entire market Sears, Roebuck & Co.		Increase of \$5. Agreement; wage settlement; \$5. increase to begin June 1, 1919	Direct Negotiation
	Dec. 22, 1919	Entire industry		Increase 20% to those earning \$30. or less; increase 5% to those earning \$50. or less; increase \$6. to those earning between \$30\$49.99 wk.	Decision Chairman Arbitration Board Prof. J. H. Tufts
Cincinnati		Most firms		14-hr. wk.; increase 8 1/3% Increase \$2. week workers; 10% piece workers Increase 15%; Shop Committee recognized Increase \$3-\$5. Increase \$3.; cutters, minimum \$37.50 to begin Sept. 15, 1919;	Vol. Announcement
To Market Market	Sept. 15, 1919 Sept. 25, 1919	Globe Tailoring Co. Moderate Tailors & P. Davis Abe Block Co. Entire industry	н.	agreement Increase \$3. to begin Sept. 15 Agreement and increase Agreement "" Increase 20% to those earning \$29. orless; \$6. to those earning between \$30. and \$50.; 5% to those earning \$50. and over	a a a
Cleveland		12 firms National Tailors Entire industry		Increase 5-20% Increase \$3. Increase \$5. to those earning up to \$20.; \$6. to those earning over \$20.; arbitration mchy.	
Hamilton	Feb. 25, 1919 Nov. 6, 1919	Entire market Entire market		44-hour week Increase; coll. barg, arrangement, \$1.50 to those earning \$10-19.; \$1. to those earning \$20-39.99	Vol. Announcement
Indianapolis	July 11, 1919	Kahn Tailoring Co. Kahn Tailoring Co. August Julian Co. Entire market		44-hour week from April 1, 1919 Increase \$5.; agreement Increase \$5. Increase \$6.	Vol. Announcement Direct negotiation
Louisville	Oct. 1, 1918 Jan. 5, 1920	Entire market Entire market		Hours, 54 and over to 48 hr. week Increase $20\%$	2
Lynn	Sept. 24, 1918 Sept. 15, 1919	Entire market Entire market	]	Increase 25 %; from 54 to 48 hrs. 44-hour week-wage scale	Direct negotiation
Milwaukee	June 30, 1919 July 31, 1919 Jan. 17, 1920	English Woolen Mills Adler & Son Entire market		Agreement same as Chicago, \$5 increase Agreement, 20% increase Increase 20%	Direct negotiation
Minneapolis		E. Rothschild & Co. Entire industry		Increase men \$4.; women \$3. From 57 to 48 hour week Inc. \$6. wk. work; 20-25 % pc. wk. Scales \$45. cutters; min. wage \$20. women, \$25. men	Direct negotiation
Montreal	Feb. 15, 1919 May 17, 1919	B. Gardner  8 Entire market  Entire market Clothing Mfrs. Assn.  Entire market		Increase \$2.; reinstatement discharged chairman Increase \$2. men, \$1.50 women earning over \$15.; increase \$2. to those earning less than \$15. 44-hr. wk. to begin Apr. 1, 1919, Increase \$2. to begin May 1, 1919, Preferential shop agreement Scales established	Direct negotiation  Wol. announcement Direct negotiation

City	Date	Benef	ît gained	Method of securing gain
e (	14 Table 1	there is shown stadius		
New Phila.	Feb. 27, 1920	H. Fagen, Shirt Mfr.	44-hour week	Direct negotiation
	12 m = 11 m			
Now Voyle	Tul- 0 1019	Washahla Sailar Suit Workers	Increase 25 %; pressers, week wk.	Direct negotiation
New York	July 15, 1918	Men's and Children's Cloth	Increase \$2.	
	July 30, 1918	ing Workers Frankel Bros.	Increase 15-20 %	Adm. of Labor Standards
	Nov. 19, 1918	East Side Retail Clothing	44-hour week	"
	Mar. 4, 1919	Mfrs. Entire industry	Increase \$2. week workers; 10 % piece workers; 12½ % knee pants workers to begin Apr. 1,	Decision advisor
		35 1 Cl /1' Ctt-m	1919 Increase \$1.	Direct Negotiatio
	Mar. 21, 1919	Men's Clothing Contractors Custom Tailors	Increase \$7. week workers; 15% piece workers; 44-hour week Increase \$1.	Direct negotiatio Impartial Chairma
		Children's Clothing Workers		Geo. L. Bell.
	June 24, 1919	Men's & Children's Cloth- ing Workers	Increase \$6. to those earn'g \$24 & below \$5. "" \$25-32. \$4. "" \$33-39. \$3. "" over \$40.	Impartial Chairma award
			to begin June 15.	"
	Aug. 14, 1919 Aug. 19, 1919 Nov. 13, 1919	Entire Industry N. Y. Clothing Trade Assn. Entire industry	Increase \$5. to begin Aug. 11 Preferential agreement Increase \$5.; skilled tailors \$5.; unskilled in vest and pants	Impartial Chairma
	Feb. 18, 1920	Shirt Workers	shops \$3.; to begin Nov. 10, '19 Increase 7-12 % operators; \$2.50- \$5. cutters; 7-15 % pressers, to	Decision Governor Labor Board
	Feb. 19, 1920	Boys' Shirt & Blouse Worker	begin Feb. 9, 1920 s Increase 15% cutters earn'g under \$30.	H. Moskowitz, Chr
			15% cutters earn'g under \$30. 10% " bet. \$30-49.99 5% " over \$50. 15% operators week and piece	Decision Imparti Chairman David
	E1 00 1000	0 11 34 6 4	10 % pressers	Adie Direct negotiation
	Mar. 10, 1920	Overall Manufacturers Merchant Tailors	Increase 20 % Increase \$5. coat makers	
	Mar. 22, 1920	Bushelmen, Clothing and Department Stores	vest makers \$10 to begin Mar.15 Increase \$10.; scale \$45.	" "
		201. san 2011 201. san 2011 201. san 2011		
Paterson	Sept. 18, 1919	8 Clothiers and Merchant Tailors	Increase 40 %	Direct negotiation
	Mar. 29, 1920	Entire industry	Increase 40 % Increase 15 %, 44-hour week	
Philadelphia	Aug. 30, 1918 J. N. Suskind	A. B. Kirschbaum &	Increase 15-20 % uniform worker	s Direct negotiation
	Nov. 6, 1918 Jan. 29, 1919		Increase 12 % 44-hour week to begin May 1st 44-hour week	Vol. announceme
	May 3, 1919	Entire market	Increase \$2.; two weeks' back pay Increase 10-20%; subcontracting	Direct negotiation
	Dec. 1, 1919	Snellenburg & Co. Entire market Shirt Manufacturers	abolished Increase \$5. tailors; \$7.50 cutters Increase 12½% week workers;	
			23 % piece workers; 44-hr. wk	

Pittsburg Mar. 8, 1919 Contractors

Mar. 19, 1920 Contractors

Increase \$2. to begin Mar. 17, 1918; 44-hour week Increase 35% Direct negotiation

City	Date	in the state of th	Benefit Gained		ethod of ring Gain
Rochester	Jan. 23, 1919	Entire market Clothiers' Exchange Clothiers' Exchange	44-hour week to begin May 1 44-hour week to begin April 1; arbitration machinery; recog-	Vol. an	irstein Aw'd nouncement
er dana y	Sept. 15, 1919	Clothiers' Exchange	nition union open shop Increase \$2. week workers earning \$30. and over; increase \$3. week workers earning \$29.; increase \$3. week workers earning between \$24-29. and \$1. advance until rate of \$32. week reached; piece workers, 10% busheling, top collar basting shaping, & 2nd basting; 7½% first basting	Deci Impartis	negotiation ision of al Chairman I. Leiserson
St. Louis	Aug. 22, 1919	7 union shops	Increase 10-20%; 44-hour week	Direct	negotiation
St. Paul	June 6, 1919	Gordon & Ferguson	Increase 22%; 44-hour week to	Dist	
		Freedman Bros. Entire market	begin July 14, 1919 Increase 18%; agreement Increase \$6. week workers; 20- 25% piece workers, cutters,	Direct	negotiation
			scale \$45.; minimum men \$25.; women \$20.	. "	
Toronto	Oct. 28, 1918		44-hour week to begin July 14, '19	Direct	negotiation
		W. R. Johnston Wholesale Clothiers' Ma	Increase 25-30 % Collective bargaining agreement	44	"
		facturing Assn. Entire industry	Agreement Increase \$613.—50% retroac-	"	"
	Feb. 17, 1920 Feb. 24, 1920	Employers' Assn. Entire industry	tive to Sept. 1, 1919 Contract system abolished Scales estab. to begin June 1, 1920	"	"
Vineland	Aug. 22, 1919 Dec. 1, 1919	Greenberg & Shafer Union shops	44-hour week Increase \$5.	Direct	negotiation
Worcester		Entire industry	Reduction hours 50 to 48 and proportionate increase	Direct	negotiation
		tire industry Entire industry Entire industry	44 hour week Increase 10 % Increase 10 %	"	"

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# IN JUNCTIONS - April 1, 1918, to April 1, 1920

Remarks			Attached 83,600, of Joint Board funds. Petition of contempt on temporary injunction issued June 16 1916, pending.		Specific Sporting			,	
Disposition	Discontinued July 15 1918	Dismissed Oct. 18 1919	Pending	Dissolved June 4, 1919	Dismissed	Denied	Favorable	Granted	Motion for preliminary injunction denied Aug. 8, 1919
Restraints Imposed	Picketing, etc.	Organizing U. G. W. members	Suit in equity for \$25,000, damages	Picketing and other union activities	Picketing, etc.	Picketing, etc.	Picketing, distributing circulars, etc.	Picketing with signs, etc.	Picketing, etc.
Date	April 22 1918	Sept. 13 1919	June 24 1919	Oct. 21 1918	March 31 1919	March 9 1920	Oct. 21 1919	Dec. 6 1918	July 22 1919
Court	Supreme Court Kings County	Circuit Court	Superior Court Suffolk County	Circuit Court Cook County	Superior Court Cook County	Superior Court	Circuit Court	Supreme Court N. Y. County	Supreme Court N. Y. County
Name of Judge who issued injunction	Townsend Scudder	Morris A. Soper	Chas, F. Jenny	Judge Smith	Chas, M. Foell	Jennings W. Sullivan	Judge Kirby	Eugene A. Philbin	Robert L. Luce
City	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Chicago	Chicago	Louisville	New York	New York
Name of firm or firms who asked for injunction	Samuel Glass	Baltimore Federation of Labor	Leopold Morse Co.	Scotch Woolen Mills	Cohn & Rissman	Foreman & Clark	Superior Woolen Mills	Monroe Clothes Shop	Philip Jones

on Remarks	n- sis- to fice		Suit for \$100,000   nd-		Temporary Restraint order
Disposition	Pending; injunction dismissed as to General office	Pending	Injunction modified, final hearing pend- ing	Pending	Pending
Restraints Imposed	Picketing etc.	Picketing etc.	Picketing etc.	Picketing etc.	Picketing etc.
Date	Sept. 8 1919	Sept. 16 1919	Sept. 27 1919	Oct. 27 1919	Mar, 22 1920
Court	Supreme Court N. Y. County	Supreme Court Kings County	Supreme Court	U. S. District. Court, Eastern District of Miss- ouri	U. S. District. Court, Eastern District of Miss- ouri
Name of Judge who issued injunction	Chas. L. Guy	David F. Manning	John B. M. Stephens	David P. Dyer	C. B. Faris
City	New York	New York	Rochester	St. Louis	St. Louis
Name of firm or firms who asked for injunction	Rogers Peet Co.	Bob & Bashkin	Michaels-Stern Co.	Ritter Bros. Nelson Pollock Epstein Bros Sigfried Rosenberg Sigfried Rosenberg Tesler Sabobuneck Perfect Clothing Co.	Missouri Pants Mfg. Co.

## DECISIONS RENDERED BY IMPARTIAL CHAIRMEN AND ARBITRATORS May 1, 1918 to April 1, 1920

IstoT	95	∞	110	1	30	130	47	63	423
General	က		3	1		10			17
Wage Ad- tnemtsut	31	7	22		19	43	22	1	145
Stoppage	4		က			16	2		25
noitatinas						1			П
Reinstate- ment and transfers	13.		30		.5	9	7		228
Produc- noit	16		70		1	7	2		31
Ргоседите	5	-	70						11
Payment Time lost			11		1		2		14
-oibsitut noit	61					1			65
to stude of Mours of	8		2		1	1		1	00
Employ-	1		62		1	00	60		15
Division of Work and Time	10		-			00	1		15
Discipline	10		12		1	7	1		26
Discharge and suspension	7		14		4	22	7		54
Date	Feb. 18 1920	Jan. 24 1920	Feb. 27 1920		Jan. 2 1920	Feb. 24 1920	Feb. 20 1920	Nov. 22 1919	
Date beginning	May 1 1918	Dec. 25 1919	Feb. 25 1919	Feb. 1920	Nov. 16 1919	Feb. 7 1919	Aug. 22 1919	Nov. 17 1919	6
Name of Chairman	Baltimore Jacob M. Moses, Trade Board Frank J. Goodnow, Arbitrator	Chas. B. Wood	James H. Tufts, Arbitrator James Mullenbach, Trade Board H. A. Millis, Trade Board	W. M. Leiserson, Arbitrator	Chas. B. Barnes	Geo. L. Bell David C. Adie, Associate	W. M. Leiserson	H. B. Sharman	
City	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	* Montreal	New York	Rochester	Toronto	Grand Totals

-"Discharge" is the term used to denote the absolute separation (involuntary) of a worker from his employment, in distinction from: 'Suspension', which stands for the workers' temporary or provisional involuntary separation from his job. Note:

"Discipline" comprises all forms of penalties other than discharge or suspension, imposed for misbehavior or violation of the agreement.

"Discipline" comprises all forms of penalties other than discharge or suspension, imposed for misbehavior or violation of a part-time basis, usually alternating

"Employment" refers to the process of selection or recruiting of personnel, which normally is effected through the union.
"Jurisdiction" and "Procedure" relate to the activity or operation of the impartial tribunal, from the standpoint of its scope or power and of its methods respec-

Payment for Time Lost" and "Reinstatement" refer to the workers' temporary absence from work owing to stoppage or discharge, and the award of back pay

"Stoppage" represents cessation of work by a group of workers, usually a section or shop, for a relatively short period of hours or days. "Wage Adjustment" denotes decisions affecting the wage rates of individuals or local groups of workers. "Production" has reference to matters of output and output standards, either of individuals or groups of workers.

"General Awards" are decisions setting standards of pay, production, etc. for an entire market or center. First decision providing for establishment of scales rendered by W. M. Leiserson.

